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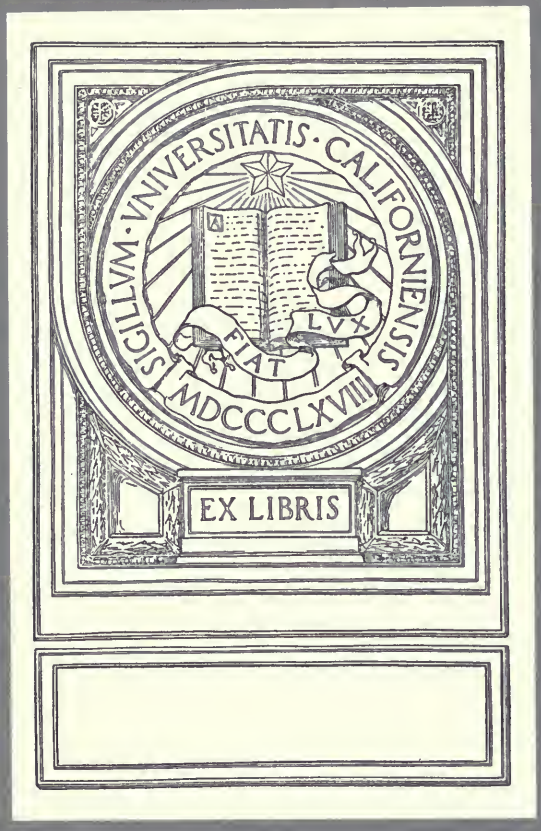
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THE MUSICAL ACCENT

OR

INTONATION IN THE KONGO LANGUAGE

BY

K. E. LAMAN, D. D.

SVENSKA MISSIONSFÖRBUNDETS FÖRLAG,
STOCKHOLM

THE MUSICAL ACCENT

OR

INTONATION IN THE KONGO LANGUAGE

BY

K. E. LAMAN, D. D.

AUTHOR OF »THE GRAMMAR OF THE KONGO LANGUAGE», ETC.
TRANSLATOR OF THE OLD TESTAMENT AND RETRANSLATOR OF THE NEW TESTAMENT
AND PSALMS INTO KONGO (FIOTI)

WITH

GRAPHIC SCHEMES AND TABLES OF NOTES

A SELECTION OF EXAMPLES FROM PHONOGRAMS SPOKEN BY
NATIVES AND TRANSCRIBED BY

DR. W. HEINITZ

OF THE PHONETICS LABORATORY FOR AFRICAN AND SOUTH-SEA
LANGUAGES AT THE UNIVERSITY OF HAMBURG

UNIV. OF
CALIFORNIA

STOCKHOLM
SVENSKA MISSIONSFÖRBUNDETS FÖRLAG

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To

The Faculty of Theology

at

The University of Upsala

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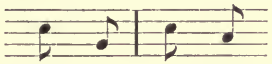
PREFACE.

When leaving Congo in 1919 an old missionary said concerning the pitch (la hauteur musicale, Tonhöhe) or the musical accent in the Kongo language: »That is probably the reason why I am not able to pronounce certain words properly. The natives always insist upon correcting my pronunciation and I cannot hear any difference.»

I have had the same experience myself, not surmising that it was the pitch they wanted to correct, or that it was of such importance for the pronunciation and the meaning of the word. We have, true enough a defined musical accent in Swedish, and I knew that each word in the Kongo language also had its particular pitch and intonation, but I never thought that it could be so complicated, and that it could undergo so many changes. Time, however, has not permitted me to enter upon this study until now.

After visiting the phonetic laboratory in Hamburg in 1913 and getting an idea of the studies upon the musical accent, especially from an article in the periodical »Vox» number 5, 1913, and other brief information about pitch in some Bantu languages, I made up my mind to try the venture, although I lack an accurate ear for music. I was encouraged by Professor *D.* Carl Meinhof, and Dr. Panconcelli-Calzia, the director of the laboratory, promised to transcribe the material I could collect by phonograms.

Knowing the musical accent in Swedish, I could quickly find the primitive words in which short root-syllables are pronounced with a high-level pitch, and final syllables with a low-level pitch in nouns and a semi-low (or medium-low) in verbs. The intonation (melody, modulation; Tonfall, Bewegungsrichtung) of the word is then falling to the extent of 6 and 5 semitones:

[1]

By comparing words of the same formation I soon found corre-

[1]) The examples are from the 1st table of notes (19), and are all supposed to have a bass-clef. The bar divides the different words.

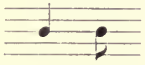
sponding words in which short root-syllables have a semi-low-level pitch and final syllables a semi-high (or medium-high). The intonation is then rising to the extent of only 3 semitones:

I began to go through the MS. of my Kongo dictionary and put the signs of pitch on the words whose pitch and intonation I could hear and understand. My native helpers had to repeat the words over and over again.

Having looked through my MS. I nevertheless did not feel content, because I could not catch all the different variations in pitch, and I could not get the guidance and help that I wanted from the natives. Probably some of them had been too much with white people so that their pronunciation had lost its proper pitch. It was only through A. Kionga from Kingoyi, an up-country station, that I succeeded in getting a definite idea of the pitch and was able to solve the difficulties, as he had a good musical perception.

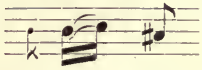
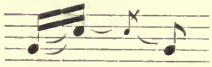
In the beginning I tried to find the pitch by a native instrument, but this proved impossible. Instead of that I gave names to different pitches with characteristic examples, e. g. the »*nzambi*-pitch» to the acute pitch, the word *nzambi* having this pitch, the »*nkanda*-pitch» to the rising low-high pitch etc. I also denoted the different intonations in a visual manner.

Again I went through the MS. of the dictionary all the time comparing every new word with other words representing different intonations. Kionga was very clever in helping me to find the proper word and pitch. Every new pitch and intonation was noted.

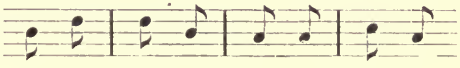
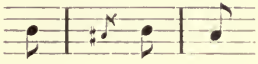
Then I shortly found the verbs with a semi-high-level pitch both in the long root-syllable and in the final syllable. The intonation is then level:

Afterwards I caught the corresponding verbs with a semi-low-level root-pitch. The intonation is then slightly rising:

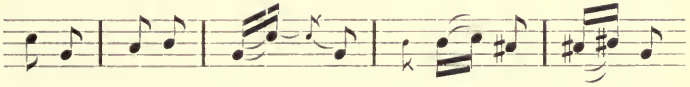
Gradually I came to see clearly, that pitch or intonation and word-formation were definitely related to each other. In nearly every kind of formation there were found words with a higher or lower ground-pitch (the pitch of the isolated word) with a falling, level, rising or combined intonation.

Concerning the nouns the task was very difficult because of the more complicated pitch and intonation according to the different

derivations. Among other things the »*nzambi*-pitch» (rising semi-high-high) was very difficult to distinguish from the »*nkanda*-pitch» (rising low-high) and Kionga himself was sometimes uncertain, but I then found that, if the noun is put in the genitive, the ground-pitch appears plainly, because the pitch of the genitive mark *a* and the intonation of the nouns are different in the two cases.

Though the root-syllable of a primitive word has only three grades of pitch: high, semi-high and semi-low, the pitch of isolated words, according to the intonations and the combinations of pitches varies much and is pronounced as follows:

Monosyllables.

Nouns: With a prefix:

Verbs:

Dissyllables.

Nouns:

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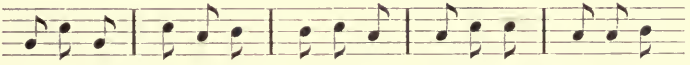
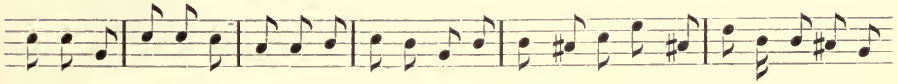
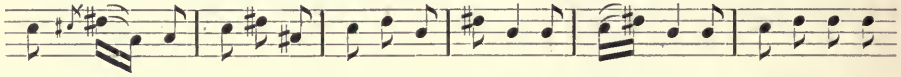

Verbs:

Polysyllables. Nouns and verbs:

Kionga was very clever in keeping the tune so that I could lower or raise my voice till I caught the exact pitch and was able to denote it according to my notation for pitch. Neither I nor Kionga had the perception of absolute pitch, and we did not know what notes were employed. We were only conscious of the intervals, i. e. of the relative pitch. If I had been as clever as Dr. Heinitz, who has prepared my phonograms and done the transcription in such an excellent manner, I should have been saved a lot of work.

Yet by means of much painstaking in comparing the words with other words with different pitches and with different intonations I could accomplish my work with a great amount of certitude. This I can say much more positively after having perused the work of Dr. Heinitz, as my work and my notation of pitch almost perfectly agree with his musical notation. The differences are unessential. The pitch of some words has been marked a little lower or higher, but the intonation has been correctly marked.

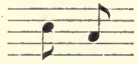
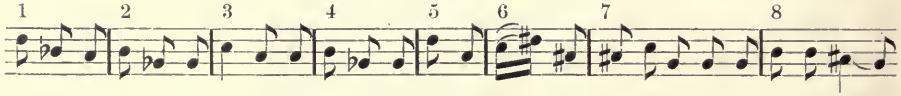
I soon saw that the fixed pitch of an isolated word can be altered, so that the ground-pitch, as well as the intonation, becomes quite transformed. At first I found this in the genitive. Naturally I thought that there was a fixed rule applicable to all nouns, but I was mistaken. There was a special rule for nearly every different ground-pitch. I therefore went through nouns of all formations to find the rules. Examples of the intonation in the genitive are as follows:

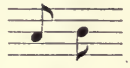
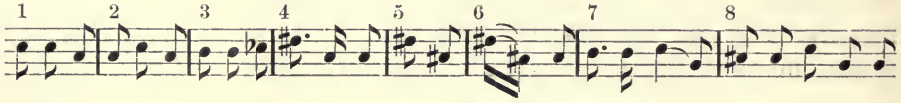
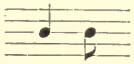
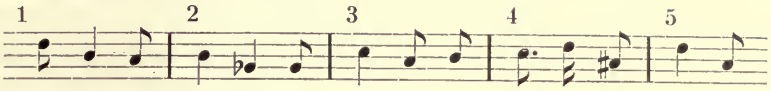


As for noun-adjectives and possessive prononuns see *N.* (= the 1st table of musical transcription § 19), 176—188.

Afterwards I found that prepositions had a still stronger influence upon the ground-pitch and intonation than the genitive. Cf. *N.* 189—194.

Long ago I noticed that pitch- or intonation was higher in the preterit than in future, but I soon saw that the influence upon the pitch of the tenses differs according to the ground-pitch of the primitive verb. Further I found that this pitch also was influenced by the different pitches of the pronouns in the 1., 2., and 3 person. To this we may add the pitch of the question, of the imperative, of the negation etc. The following examples may serve to show how different the intonation may be in the same tense and person. 1) = Preterit, 1 person; 2) = Preterit, 3 person; 3) = Future, 1 Person; 4) 5) 6) = Perfect, 3 Person; 7) 8) = With the reflexive pronoun *ki*.

Verbs with the intonation



Verbs with the intonation

Verbs with the intonation

I then perceived that, according to different ground-pitches, I must investigate all other cases regarding the dynamic accent, quantity, euphony in general, different parts of speech and their rules, word-formations and the parts of the sentence etc.

The result is the present work. Having accomplished the work with Kionga I made an extract with many examples of different ground-pitches of the primitive words and of other characteristic pitches as genitive-, preposition-, preterit-, future-, perfect-, pronominal-, interrogative-, imperative-, negative-pitch and different prefix-pitches, suffix-pitches etc. in word-formation. The examples illustrate also how the pitch in words may be influenced and what influence it may have on the preceding and the following syllables.

Certainly it was a good idea, that I started with the study of pitch in all these complicated cases before taking the records, for I was then able to carefully choose the typical examples of every variation in pitch and intonation. Kionga also had very good practice in pronouncing the different examples with a very firm and reliable voice for the phonograph. With great surprise I must acknowledge the reliability and regularity with which he has spoken the words into the apparatus. The fact is, that when comparing the words which in different connections have been spoken on different phonograms, I can verify that they have been pronounced with great precision. Only a few words have been pronounced in a somewhat too high or too low tone, but the intonation is always correct.

Kionga had a clear voice and pronounced the intervals perceivably and distinctly. The highest pitch in the words according to the notes is g or generally f sharp (in the bass-clef) and the lowest b flat. A Teke man, who spoke in the Teke language, had a lower voice and did not pronounce the words so evenly, but we had not worked together very long. The highest pitch he used was f or generally e flat and the lowest e or generally f sharp. The material from the Teke language proves that there are several differences between the pitch in the Kongo and in the Teke language Cf. 7 *N.* (= The 7th table of notes).

The greatest use I have of the musical notation or transcription is, that I was able to find the exact pitch in some inflections and

derivations where it was very difficult to find it by mere comparison. Besides I have been assured, that my work has not been in vain, for there is always a great risk to determine the state of the pitch by hearing only. Both psychological and physiological facts cooperate to lead one astray by this method. My method of comparing and of continually repeating the words referring to different dialects and persons, has made the work practically very reliable. In the dialects there are of course several exceptions, in some cases special rules, but all these have been incorporated with the rules. Otherwise the rules of pitch are as definite as the grammatical rules.

The dialects and languages mentioned in this book are Bembe, Kingoyi, Kinkenge, Madzia, Mayombe, Mazinga, Ndingi, Teke, and Yaka[1]).

The pitch is the body, the structure of the language. Most of the roots are either onomatopoetic, descriptive, or figures of speech, denoting an action, performance or state, or a condition expressed in a figurative sense by a low or high pitch, by a falling, level or rising intonation, by a single or combined pitch and so on.

From these roots the words are derived with exactly the same root-pitch, the intonation of the word being somewhat different according to the pitch of the final syllable. Because of that we find such a great number of words in different Bantu languages that have the same root-pitch. The word-formation may have a great influence on the intonation but not on the root-pitch. Cf. the comments (10) on the 7th table of notes. The influenced pitch varies in the languages in several cases according to the rules.

Thus the meaning of the word is the best guide and help to know the pitch. Cf. the examples in 40. If a word in the dialects is pronounced with a short or long quantity or with the one or the other consonant or vowel, it is of no consequence, the ground-pitch is always the same, as we shall find from the rules and examples.

The phonograms, except the first one, are rather well preserved in spite of the many years they had to remain in Congo. Here and there are a few spots of mould, so that it has been difficult to define the pitch of some syllables. In the first phonogram there are certain defects, so that some words in one place are rendered too high and in another too low and some are not distinctly audible.

In studying the pitch and comparing the musical notation we must remember that the musical system is not intended for singing

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[1]) Abbreviations: Be. = Bembe; Kyi. = Kingoyi; Kink. = Kinkenge; Ko. = Kongo; Mdz. = Madzia; My. = Mayombe; Mz. = Mazinga; Nd. = Ndingi; Te. = Teke; Ya. = Yaka.

the words but to give a good notion of the musical accent and its pronunciation. The different notes are simply points between which the voice is constantly gliding. As for an example of a graphic scheme of the pitch, see 15 and 18.

I think, however, that if we add a few signs the system of musical notation gives the best representation of the pitch, the quantity, the stress, and various intonations. There is surely a considerable musical element in the musical accent, since it can be rendered so exeedingly well by notes. But there are also other factors, because the same pitch of tone is not always of the same character and pronunciation. Cf. 26.

I refer to this because of some valuable information obtained from Dr. E. v. Hornbostel of the Psychological Institute in Berlin. Several years ago I took more than 100 phonograms for this institute. They contained native songs, singing plays, and music of every kind. Some of them will soon be transcribed and it will be of great interest to see what the influence of the melody might be on the pitch etc. Cf. the comments on the singing-play in the 5th table of notes and on the mocking of some birds etc. in the 6th table of notes.

When revising this treatise I found some new points of view and some words and forms of verbs whose pitch was not satisfactorily investigated. I then asked the Rev. Morfeldt to take records of those words. Some of them are transcribed in the 2nd, 8th and 9th table of notes.

I also found some records of great value from the western dialects, giving good examples of other variations in pitch. See the 3rd table of notes.

In the 4th table of notes we have a good record of a quarrel between two women about some pigs, which had been eating their peanuts. It was taken several years ago, but it is an excellent example of the sentence-pitch.

For practical purposes the tables of notes contain only an extract of the characteristic examples taken on the cylinders. They were taken by an Excelsior Phonograph, and Dr. Heinitz has adopted his usual method and made the notation of each tone while hearing the sound. It has been performed in the same way as we read on page 15 of his work »Phonographische Sprachaufnahmen aus dem egyptischen Sudan. Abhandlung des Hamburgischen Kolonialinstituts Band XXXVIII, L. Friedrichsen u. Co, Hamburg, 1917.»

Comparing the different tables of notes we find that the tone of voice varies on account of the structure of the vocal chords etc.

but the intonation is correct according to the dialect. The intervals also are somewhat different.

As for the basis of our study and the gradation of the pitch (see 14) we have strictly followed the musical notation of the words spoken by Kionga, as seen in the 1st table of notes. The great conformity with my notation and the table seems to be a positive proof of the reliability of the transcription and of the characteristic pitch in the Kongo language.

From the tables of notes we find that the intonation is very complicated, but for practical purposes some simplifications are made in the rules. On the other hand there are indeed many interesting scientific problems regarding the pitch and its function in this pitch language. Some points of view are given in the rules and in the comments on the tables of notes. It would also have been of great importance to investigate the relations between the pitch and the different sounds in regard to physical and physiological elements.

It is true enough that this study of the intonation has been very difficult and laborious, but the preparation and the compilation of the treatise has by no means been easier, since I considered it necessary to have it published in English to make it accessible to other missionaries and to serve as an aid to linguistic research.

Terms and expressions in English have been very difficult to find on account of this new and strange subject, but Professor R. E. Zachrisson has kindly examined the terms and looked through my MS. from the point of view of the language.

When I came to Sweden professor Meinhof sent me no. 4 of the »Vox» 1916, where I found a very interesting and useful article of 15 pages by C. Endemann about the intonation in the South African Bantu languages. It is the best study of the intonation published up to that date. It gives a very good idea of the pitch and the great part it plays in the Bantu language. When the pitch in those languages has been fully investigated in all its relations and details, it will be of great interest to learn the rules regarding the variations in ground-pitch in the different declensions, formations and positions of the word in a sentence etc. Comparing the adjacent Teke and Yaka with the Kongo language we directly find some different rules for the influenced pitch and intonation. The musical transcription of the pitch in the Teke and Yaka language is given at the end for the sake of comparison. Cf. 7 *N.*, 9 *N.*

In »A Sechuana Reader» by Daniel Jones, M. A. we also find

on page 25—31 very instructive notes on the intonation in the Sechuana language.

Thinking of the great help I have received in this work I fully appreciate the patience and great endurance shown by my native helpers, especially Kionga and even Lunungu, Makundu and others, who have been indefatigable in repeating the words innumerable times. I owe them my greatest gratitude.

I also have to express my appreciation of the great kindness shown me by Professor Meinhof, who in many ways has encouraged and advised me, and Dr. Panconcelli-Calzia and chiefly Dr. Heinitz whose work has been of such great scientific value, and lastly Dr. Dempwolf who kindly suggested a detailed arrangment of the introduction. It is true that the representation of these new linguistic facts expressed in rules may seem to be very abstract and difficult for the beginner, especially if he has no musical accent in his native tongue, but I am convinced that the study of the musical accent in the Bantu languages is necessary for anyone who wishes to understand these languages and to study the people that uses them.

I acknowledge my indebtedness to my co-workers in the field, at home, and to the members of the Board of »Svenska Missionsförbundet», who have been deeply interested in the work and through whom the book is now published.

K. E. Laman.

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I. Introduction.

1. In the pronunciation of the words in the Kongo language we should consider with regard to the acoustic perception:

a) the *stress* (the dynamic accent) from the point of view of intensity and pressure at the moment of expiration;

b) the *duration* (the quantitative accent) from the point of view of quantity and extension of time at the expiration;

c) the *acoustic colour* (the timbre or voice-quality) from the point of view of the quality of tone and pronunciation (especially in the vowels) according to the shape of the sound passage, i. e. mouth, throat and nose;

d) the *pitch* (the musical accent) from the point of view of the musical tone according to the varying tenseness of the vocal chords in the voiced sounds, especially the vowels.

Dynamic Accent.

2. The dynamic accent can be divided 1) with regard to its roots: into the *root-accent* and the *rhythmic accent*; 2) with regard to the stress: into *strong stress* (´) and *secondary stress* (`)[1].

a) The *root-accent* always falls on the root-syllable. It can be strong or half-strong, stronger or weaker than other syllables of the word, i. e. it can have strong stress or not: *bákà,* to catch; *báka,* wall; *kàbá,* to divide, to give.

When a semi-vowel and a vowel are combined, the root-accent falls on the latter: *kwánga,* to cut down.

Prefixes, as a rule, have no influence on the accent: *kiése,* joy; *kibúlu,* animal; *wàbatónda,* he loved them.

The pitch strongly influences the accent, making it either stronger or weaker. See 28, 29.

b) The *rhythmic accent* is a secondary accent that always falls on the penult. If the final syllable (ultima) gets strong stress, the rhythmic accent is weakened: *kángàma,* to be roasted; *sùkulá,* to wash.

[1]) The strong stress is denoted in the rule or marked in the first example. Weak stress and very short syllables are denoted by the appoggiatura and the semiquaver in the tables of notes. Very strong stress is denoted by two signs. See *N.* 231, 235, 238.

c) The *strong stress* is the stress that is heard as the strongest in the word. It may fall on different syllables of a word (e. g. see 29). Two or several syllables may sometimes be equally strong in stress: *zóbòngó*, an antilope; *nábènzèngèlé*, assonant sound, rattle.

d) The *secondary stress* is a half-strong stress, which may fall very differently. As for examples, see a, b, c, and 20, a.

Quantitative Accent.

Length of Vowels and Consonants.

3. The quantitative accent (the quantity) appears in vowels, consonants and syllables.

Words that are alike in form but differ in meaning are often distinguished by means of the quantity[1]) *bāka*, to catch; *bāka*, to tear apart; *fūla* to forge (metal); *fūla*, to exterminate.

In cases of emphasis the quantity may be very long.

a) *Vowels* are short, half-long or long. The semi-vowels are very short. They lengthen the syllable: *kwela* < *yila*, to be dark.

If the prefix-vowel coalesces with the root-vowel, the vowel-sound is much lengthened and gets a stronger stress: *mūntu*, man; *dīsu*, eye. If the prefix-vowel is retained, it is changed into a semi-vowel: *mwēla*, breath.

The rule for short or long vowels in a syllable may often be inferred from the meaning of the word. As for examples, see 40.

b) *Consonants* are short, half-long or long: *l*, *'b*, *'d* (with glottal stop), *m̄*, *n̄*, *ń* (palatal), *ng*, *ṅ* (guttural), *v* (bilabial), *γ* (guttural), and sometimes *s* and *z* are pronounced longer than other consonants.

In dialects *b* and *d* are pronounced with *r*-vibration *(br, dr)*, *v* with *b (bv)*, *s* with *t (ts)*, and *z* with *d (dz)* etc.

Consonants, nasalized or strengthened by stress or pitch, are lengthened.

As for the influence of pitch on vowels and consonants, see 49.

Transition-length.

4. The change of length from vowel to consonant and vice

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[1]) The quantity is marked thus: A short vowel *(a)* is marked only for the sake of comparison. A long vowel *(ā)* is denoted in the rule or marked in the first example, provided that the syllable is not lengthened by a semi-vowel or nasalized consonant, e. g. *tūla, kwela, sumba.*

versa depends partly on the inflection and formation, and partly on the meaning that is given to the word.

a) In *derivations* of verbs or formations of nouns a long syllable becomes half-long or short according to the number of syllables contained in the word. The short ultima of the stem is sometimes a little lengthened and gets the stress according to the pitch. If the root-vowel is short, it becomes still shorter in the polysyllabic derivations, e. g. *kōmba, kombama*[1], *kŏmbumuna; mwila, mwidila; bāka, bakama, bakuzula; nkento* > *kinkento-nkento.* This diminutive is also pronounced with a short root-vowel.

By derivation from a monosyllabic stem with a short vowel the root-vowel is lengthened or retained according to the conformation: *bă,* palm > *lubānga,* palm-kernel; *lă,* long > *lăvuka,* to be long. If the root-vowel is half-long, it is lengthened: *bi,* angry > *bīva,* to be angry: *nzi,* fly > *nzinzi,* fly.

Monosyllabic verbs having a short stem-vowel in the infinitive always get a long one in derivations: *ta,* to say > *tēla; bwa,* to fall > *bwila.*

Monosyllabic nouns in dialects get their consonants lengthened by the addition of a stressed class-prefix: *sa.* pot, *kisa* (= kissa).

In dialects where the class-prefix *ku* is retained and meets the root-vowel, a short vowel always passes into a long one: *kwiba* < *yiba,* to steal; *kwela* < *yela,* to be ripe.

Within the same dialect many words with long root-vowels are pronounced short or vice versa: *zāya* or *zāba,* to know; *lōnga* or *lŏnga,* to learn.

b) In *inflections,* e. g. in the preterit, the combined personal pronoun becomes short, and the root-vowel and the root-consonant are a little lengthened. In the future it is vice versa: *yăsumba,* I bought; *yāsumba,* I shall buy. As for the pitch in such cases, see 85—88.

As a rule the genitive mark *a* is half-long in the genitive or any other kinds of attributes. As for its pitch, see 81, 82. The principal word of the genitive often gets its long root-vowel changed into a half-long or a short one: *mūntu a Nzambi.*

In primitive verbs which have lost their final syllable, the root-vowel is lengthened: *bakī (< kidi) dia,* they are still eating; *bamā (<mana) kwenda,* they have already gone.

In consequence of the meaning or emphasis a long vowel often passes into a short one and a short consonant into a long one, and

---

[1]) Half-long root-syllable in the examples is not marked.

vice versa: *kunā*, far, far away < *kūna; kāngala*, bluebottle < *kāngala*, to wander about.

Timbre.

a) Pronunciation of Vowels.

5. *In primitive words.* In their pronunciation the vowels vary in timbre according to their pitch and the shape of the sound-passage, viz. mouth, throat und nose. Here the consonants and phonetic laws exercise their influence, likewise the pronunciation and the character of the root-vowel within the adjoining dialects.

In comparing words to find out the pronunciation and the pitch, one ought to employ the same vowels and also the same consonants as far as possible, because the varying timbre renders the comprehension of the pitch more difficult.

A always has an open pronunciation. In the northern dialects it approaches a close *a*.

The open and close *o* and *u* have a varying pronunciation according to the pitch. *E* and *i* vary almost as much, though the variation is not so noticeable in the dialects.

The etymological *i* and *u* are perceptible in the pronunciation, but are not so marked as in the northern dialects, where for instance *u* approaches *ü: kümi*, 10.

As for the influence of the pitch on vowels, see 48.

6. a) The pronunciation of the *ultima-vowel* partly follows the rules of the root-vowel and partly the rule of the euphonic law, which differs rather much in the southern, middle and northern dialects, e. g. *mole*, 2, which may be *modi, mola, molo* or *mwolo* and in the Teke language *mwele*. This is still more noticeable in the inflections and derivations of the verbs.

b) In the *genitive-* or *attributive* mark *a* with its high pitch, and before the possessive pronouns *ami, aku, andi, eto, eno, au*, the final vowel of the principal word gets a semi-vocalic pronunciation and a more or less close sound according to the character of the vowel, and it partly coalesces with the mark *a* or with the initial *a* or *e* of the possessive pronouns mentioned above.

E passes into a very close *e* or rather into *i*. *O* and *u* become closed or open *w*, e. g. *nleli ami*, my cloth, *(mulel' ami*, Kyi.*)*.

Where *i* is more strongly pronounced it becomes *nledi ami*.

In other cases and in monosyllabic nouns and the interrogative particle see the Kongo grammar 16. See also the following examples and likewise the genitive pitch, 81. 82.

Examples: *nkand' amwāna, mbut' āmi, mwān' ēto, mv'āmi* or *muhāmi, s'āmi, s'ēto, se* or *si āmi, si ēto,* because *e* has been retained in the dialects and then it has passed into *i*, which is pronounced as a semi-vowel. — *Māmbw e? Ka bwā kw e? Zoleli e? Wōwo nkānd' e?*

7. In *declensions* and *derivations* the following may illustrate the influence of pitch and phonetic laws upon the vowels.

The perfect suffix *ẹlẹ, ẹnẹ* always passes into *i̱di̱, i̱ni̱* in the northern dialects. They are both modified according to the root-vowel and the euphonic law within the dialect. For examples, see below.

The derivative suffixes and the perfect of the derived verbs vary much in the dialects. See the examples.

A, i and *u* in the stem have as a rule no influence on the suffix, but in the northernmost dialects these root-vowels are also retained in derivations:

kākala = kākuna, kāka, tr. to tear to pieces; perf. *nkakiri.*
kākaka = kakuka, intr.
simbila = simbula, tr. to raise, *simbika,* intr.
sumbusuna or *sumbisina = sumbana,* rec. < *sumba,* to buy; perf. *sumbisini; sumbalana = sumbilanga.*
lambalana = lambilanga > *lamba,* to boil.
finingina = finangana,
Also *tutu = tuta; suku (= suka, fiela* in Ko).

E and *o* also have an influence on the infinitive mark.
Kwelẹ = kwela, to marry; *kwelẹsẹnẹ,* rec.; perf. *kwelẹsi̱ni̱.*
kwelẹlẹ = kwedila; nkweri̱di̱, perf. as of the primitive verb.
telẹlẹ = telu̱la, telọla, take off a pan from the fire.
telẹkẹ = tedi̱ka, telẹka, rev. of the preceding; perf. *ntedikiri.*
tengeme = tengama, to be askew, to be aslant; *tengẹka = tengika,* tr.
zekekene = zekalakana.
yokọ = yoka, to roast etc.; perf. *yokiri̱; yokọlọ = yokila; yokọsọnọ,* rec.; perf. *yokosini.*

Examples from southern dialects.
zolana; perf. *zolẹni, zolanẹni̱ (~ ẹ);* rec. pl. *zolesẹni̱ (~ ẹ).*
betọmọna = betu̱mu̱na; perf. *betwemwẹni̱.*
bulumuna; perf. *bulwamweni.*
kangusala or *kangusila = kanguzula;* perf. *kangwesẹlẹ.*

kangusaka or *kangusika* intr. of the preceding.

Nouns etc.

ngwu̲lulu̲, pl. *milila* or *mwololo̲* pl. *miololo̲* or *mwe̲le̲le̲*, pl. *mielele*, bleeding at the nose, = *mūlulu*.

mwe̲lo̲, door, *mwe̲lu̲* or *mwilu*.

nso̲ngu̲nia or *nso̲ngo̲nia*, wandering ant.

nto̲ti̲la or *nto̲te̲la*, great chief.

kie̲nge̲le̲, fraud.

kimpe̲po̲ngo̲. *kimpepu̲ngu̲*, butterfly, < *kupepe*, to flap, flutter (Be).

kie̲la, loin.

mwe̲ke̲se̲, pl. *mie̲-*, = whiskers.

pelele̲, *di-*, slyness.

viu̲, *mphiu̲du̲du̲*, dark.

mvu̲ngu̲tu̲tu̲, twilight, (The two last *u-s* are very close to *ü*).

nayi̲di̲di̲, rapidly.

nayi̲ndi̲ndi̲, shady.

ami̲ or *ame̲*, mine.

e̲no̲ or *e̲nu̲* (< *nu*, you), your.

e̲to̲ or *e̲tu̲* (< *tu*, we), us.

napwe̲, *napwe̲nde̲nde̲*, white.

ke̲ba; perf. *kebe̲le̲; kebi̲la* or *kebe̲la*.

ki̲na, *ki̲ni̲na*, to dance.

de̲ka; perf. *de̲ke̲le̲*.

Note. The final vowel in the perfect suffix *ele* is more close than the preceding *e* and passes in dialects into *i*. See ex. above.

From other southern dialects.

Ko̲nzu̲ngu̲la, *konzo̲ngo̲la*, to jingle.

ku̲ndu̲bu̲la, to walk heavy.

ku̲na, to sow, *ku̲nu̲zu̲na*.

te̲ngu̲la, *tengo̲la;* perf. *tengo̲le*. or *tengu̲di̲*.

yo̲ngi̲bi̲la, *ki̲di̲bi̲la*.

Note. The suffix-vowel *u̲* after the *o* or *e* of the root-syllable approaches in pronunciation an open *u̲*.

Pronunciation of Consonants. [1])

8. Voiced consonants which, on account of their pronunciation,

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[1]) Signs of different shades of vowel- and consonant-sound are as a rule not written in the examples. Kh, ph, th and ts, dz etc. are denoted by giving the class-prefix, which is zi-. In the same manner unaspirated k, p, t, and s, z etc. in the nouns of the mi-class must be observed. Cf. 49 a, b.

have a somewhat prolonged quantity, e. g. *b, d, l, m̄, n̄, (ṅ, ń, γ), v, y, z*, have a noticeable influence on the pitch and the stress, because those consonants often have a light gliding tone. The nasal prefixes have their special pitch. Cf. 49. As for examples and pitch, see the tables of notes and the rules.

Y before *i* and short *o* has a stronger sound similar to the Swedish *j*, e. g. *yiba*, to steal; *yoka*, to roast. *S* and *z* have likewise a stronger sound: *ts*, c or *tc*, c or *dz*, e. g. *sema, tsema* or *cema*, to shine; *zaka, dzaka* or *caka*. *S* before *i* in the San Salvador dialect becomes *š* (sh, sch), e. g. *šimba*, keep hold of. As for nasalized consonants with their pronunciation and pitch, see 49.

Musical Accent.

9. The *musical accent* or *pitch* in the Kongo language is an intonation, a melodious sound reflecting the rising and falling of the voice in speech, constantly moving upwards or downwards from one note to the other, so that the different notes are simply points between which the voice is constantly gliding.

The pitch is of very great importance in the Kongo language, as every syllable has a special pitch relatively to the other syllables, and if a syllable (especially the root-syllable in primitive words is pronounced in a wrong pitch, it generally changes the word into an entirely different word. (For ex., see below). In the declension of nouns and the conjugation of verbs etc. it may give the word quite a wrong form. Cf. the 1st table of notes B.

The musical accent occurs in many other African languages, and in Chinese etc. In Europe it occurs in Swedish and Norwegian, in some Danish dialects and also in Servian-Croatian and Lithuanian.

In the greater part of Sweden for instance the word *axel* (shoulder) is pronounced with a pitch falling from the first syllable towards the end of the word. The intonation is then falling according to the type \. In dialects the word is also pronounced with a pitch rising from the first syllable towards the end. The intonation is then rising according to the type /.

In the word *axel* (axle) the pitch falls in the first syllable and rises towards the end. The intonation is then according to the type √. In both cases the intervals may differ in different provincial dialects.

In the same manner we pronounce: *buren* (\ ), the cage, and *buren* (√), being carried; *anden* (\ ), the duck, and *anden* (√), the spirit.

In the Kongo language similar various intonations are observed in such words as *kaba* (\ ), to wound; *kaba* (/), to divide, give; *fulu* (\ ), blossom, flower; *fulu* (/), place; *nganga* (/ or √), medicine-man.

10. The *intervals* (space between sounds) between the different syllables of the primitive words may differ very much on account of the varying pitch of the syllables. From the table of notes it appears that the third is the most ordinary in verbs and the fourth in nouns with a falling intonation and the second in those with a rising intonation. See *N.* 1. 6, 87. [1])

The syllables may also have the same pitch, e. g. *N.* 27—29. In derivations and different positions in the sentence different intervals are found up to the octave, e. g. 6 *N.* 10, where we find an octave.

11. *Intonations.* In consequence of the different pitch of the syllables between themselves every word gets a certain intonation, whose movement is either level, when all the syllables have the same pitch (—), falling, when the pitch of the last syllable (ultima) is lower than that of the root-syllable (\), or rising, when the ultima-pitch is higher than the pitch of the root-syllable (/), e. g. *pāka* (—), *keba* (\ ), *tūta* (/).

Considering the different formations, derivations and positions in the sentence of the words the intonation of the words can become combined, e. g. syllables with uniform pitch but with falling or rising ultima of the type ¯ ¯ \ or _ _ /, or syllables with falling and rising or rising and falling pitch of the type ∨, ∧ or ∨\ , e. g. *zobongo* (¯ ¯ \ ), an antilope; *tutisa* (_ _ /), to cause, to beat, crush; *dinko-ndo* (∨), plantain; *dinka-nda* (∧), the lower part of a palm-branch; *lusa-ku-saku* \ ∧), a plant.

12. Just as the words may have different intonations, every syllable may also have either a level, falling, rising or combined intonation, e. g. *tū-la* (- -), to lay; *nke-nge* (∧), a market-day; *ke-ngi* (/_), roasted; *ke-ngi* (_), bound; *a* (∨) or *aa* (∧), no.

13. *Tone of voice (key).* The intonation may be raised or lowered according to the elevation of the tone, which is determined by the

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[1]) *N.* = the first musical transcription or the 1st table of notes, § 19. The second, the third one etc. are marked 2 *N.*, 3 *N.* etc.

meaning of the word, the sentence, or sentence-group, and not by the feelings of the speaker as in European languages.

A *high key* (⌜¯¯⌝) expresses a more rapid movement, a higher sound, more intensity and so on. It also denotes a long distance, smallness, a question in calls, an address, names, the principal word, the genitive, the possessive, the preposition, and the preterit etc. Cf 80.

Sa ⌜*malu-malu.*⌝ Bestir yourself. *Buna twawa* ⌜*nabenzengele.*⌝ Then we heard a sonorous rattle. *Mpasi zazi* ⌜*naziozio*⌝. This pain is piercing. *Tala* ⌜*kuna*⌝. Look yonder (far away) *Ndieu wena ye* ⌜*kinkoko-nkoko*⌝. This one has a very small arm. ⌜*Lweki*⌝? Has he arrived? ⌜*Kionga*⌝*!* Kionga! ⌜*Makitu*⌝. A name. ⌜*Muntu*⌝ *a Nzambi.* A man of God. ⌜*Wamwana*⌝. Of the child. *Nkand'* ⌜*ami*⌝. My book. *Wenda* ⌜*ku kibuka*⌝. Go to the place. ⌜*Nakaba*⌝. I gave.

A *low key* (⌞___⌟) expresses a slow movement, a lower sound, a sweet sensation, strong colours and so on. It also denotes nearness, greatness, command, the future in contrary to the preterit and is also used in whispering etc. Cf. 80.

Wiza ⌞*buke-buke*⌟. Come cautiously. *Nzongo wa* ⌞*ta-wa*⌟. The shot was dull. *E,* ⌞*kiese beni*⌟. What a great joy. *Nkanda wena* ⌞*nanzo*⌟ (⌞*napiu*⌟). The book is very red (black). *Wiza kwaku* ⌞*vava*⌟. Come here to. *E,* ⌞*nzau waunene*⌟. What a big elephant. ⌞*Tala*⌟! Look. ⌞*Nakaba*⌟. I shall give.

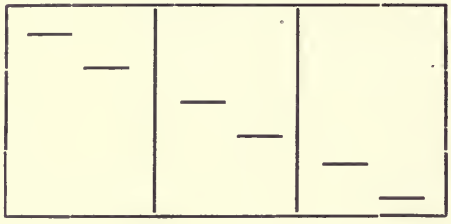
A *very high key* (falsetto) is usually employed in several words denoting sounds, in some singing-games and commonly in singing and dancing to express intensity.

14. The *gradations of pitch* according to the musical notation are three, viz. high, middle and low. In each gradation we can distinguish between a higher and a lower grade and in each one of these we notice a higher and a lower pitch, viz. a very high (f sharp, g) and a high (e, f) pitch; a semi-high (d, d sharp) and a semi-low (c, c sharp) pitch; a low (b flat, b) and (in some dialects) a very low (g, a) pitch. Cf. 15.

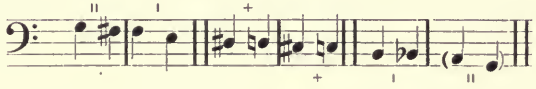
Graphic Scheme of the Pitch.

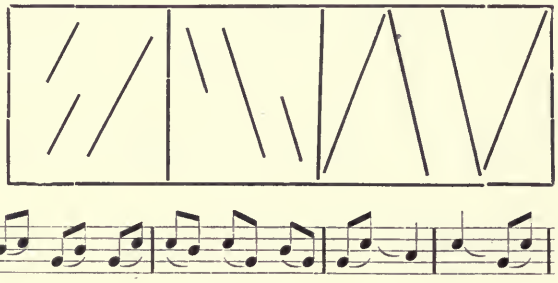
15. To show the gradations of pitch and the different intonations according to the pitch of the different syllables the following graphic representation may serve. Examples are given in 18.

a) Notes. High-level pitches. Mid-level pitches. Low-level pitches.



g, f sharp, — High tone-position.
f, e,
d sharp, d, — Middle tone-position.
c sharp, c,
b, b flat, — Low tone-position.
(a, g)

Notes with phonetic signs of pitch.

Thus we find that each of the phonetic signs represents two semitones. If we want to distinguish the one from the other we may add a + or a —. Cf 16.

b)
Notes. Rising. Falling. Combined. [1])

c, f, — High tone-position.
c, d, — Middle tone-position.
b, — Low tone-position.

As for names and phonetic signs, see 16.

c) Stress and quantity can likewise be graphically represented by means of thick long (▬) or short (▬) lines, whereas timbre only can be rendered by means of letters.

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[1]) Combined syllabic pitch seldom occurs in the Kongo language as compared with the Teke. See 7 *N*.

Phonetic Signs of Pitch.

16. a) For scientific purposes the pitch is denoted with the following signs after a syllable or syllabic nasal.

Supra: $a^{\prime}$, high-level pitch (e, f); $a^{\prime\prime}$, very high-level pitch (f sharp, g); $a^{\prime}$, acute pitch (e—f sharp); a^{+}, semi-high-level pitch (d, d sharp); $a^{\grave{}}$, grave pitch, see 8 *N.*

Infra: a_{+}, semi-low-level pitch (c, c sharp); $a_{,}$, low-level pitch (b flat, b); $a_{,,}$, very low-level pitch (g, a).

To indicate a falling and rising pitch the signs are used before and after the vowel: $^{\prime}a^{+}$, (or a^) high-semi-high, i. e. falling from high to semi-high; $^{\prime}a_{+}$, (or a^) high-semi low, i. e. falling from high to semi-low; $^{\prime}a_{,}$, (or a$_{,}$^) high-low, i. e. falling from high to low; $^{+}a^{\prime}$, (or a^{+}) semi-high-high, i. e. rising from semi-high to high; $_{+}a^{\prime}$, (or a$_{+}$) semi-low-high, i. e. rising from semi-low to high; $_{,}a^{\prime}$, (or a$_{,}$) low-high, i. e. rising from low to high etc.

The combined syllabic pitch, which seldom occurs, may be denoted in the following way: $^{\prime}a_{+}{}^{+}$, i. e. falling from high to semi-low and then rising to semi-high.

When it is necessary to indicate one semitone higher or lower, we use a small sign of addition or minus ($^{+}$ or $^{-}$), e. g. *pa'ke'no'*$^{+}$ (*N.* 257), *na*$^{+}$*ka*$^{+}$*ba'*$^{-}$ (*N.* 213). Practically the semitones are of no importance, because the intervals are usually the same and they are correctly marked by the fixed signs.

As for semi-acute and semi-grave pitch, see 58.

b) For practical purposes the marking of the pitch can be simplified in most cases by marking only the ground-pitch[1]) of the root, because the primitive words as well as the derived ones follow fixed rules.

Words whose pitch is influnced by inflection, derivation or position in the sentence, ought to be marked in every case, as the rules of the influenced pitch differ according to the ground-pitch of the word.

For the level pitches the following terms are used: high, semi-high, semi-low, and low; and for the rising and falling pitches: low-high, semi-low-high, etc. and high-low, semi-high-low etc.

Rules for Marking the Pitch.

17. The following rules may be applied to the Kongo language.

a) Primitive words (dissyllables[2]) whose root has one of the

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[1]) Cf. 23.

[2]) Cf. 19 Note 2.

high pitches, have always a falling intonation, i e. the ultima has a semi-low or low pitch: *ba'ka, mfu'mu, nkwa'la, nk,e'nge, k⁺a'nga.* The pitch of the prefix, which in these cases is semi-low or low, is not marked: *muti', muk,a'nda.*

b) In words derived from these or other polysyllables, which have one or several subsequent syllables with the same high pitch, only the first pitch is marked. If the pitch of the ultima differs, it is marked, e. g. *ka'ngama,* to be roasted; *nsu'muku,* or *nsu'/muku,* cupping-horn; but: — *zo'bongo₊,* an antilope.

Words, which differ from the preceding rules, are marked in detail, e. g. *ki'ba⁺,* stinger; *ta⁺la₊nga⁺ < ta'la₊,* to see.

c) Primitive verbs, whose root has a semi-high pitch and whose ultima has no nasalized consonant, have a level intonation, i. e. the ultima has the same pitch as the root. The root-vowel is always long: *tū⁺la.*

Words derived from these and other polysyllables are marked according to the preceding rule *b: tu⁺dila, tu⁺didingi, ntu⁺lulu.*

Note. Verbs whose root has the preceding semi-high pitch or rising semi-low—semi-high pitch and whose ultima has a nasalized consonant, always have a rising intonation, i e. the ultima is high, e. g. *ka⁺nga'* or *k₊a⁺nga'.* These actually belong to the next rule, as appears from their derivations, and they may be marked as words with a semi-low root-pitch.

d) Primitive words, whose root has a semi-low or a low pitch, generally have a rising intonation, i. e. the ultima is semi-high or high, e. g. *ka₊ba,* to divide, give; *tū₊ta,* to crush, beat; *mu₊ntu,* man; *lō₊zi,* shout of joy; *mulo,ngo,* prohibition. Prefixes that have the same pitch or a low pitch are not marked. If otherwise, they are marked: *ba₊ka,la⁺,* man.

Words derived from these and other polysyllables with the same ground-pitch have, as a rule, the same pitch in the following syllables except the ultima, which is always higher and therefore requires no marking: *ka₊buzula < ka₊ba; bu₊ndumuna < b₊u⁺nda', mwi₊dila,* brooklet. Exceptions are marked, e. g. *di₊nsu,su₊,* a plant.

Examples of some important Ground-pitches with their different changes.

18. a) Cf, *N.* 199, 206, 201—204.

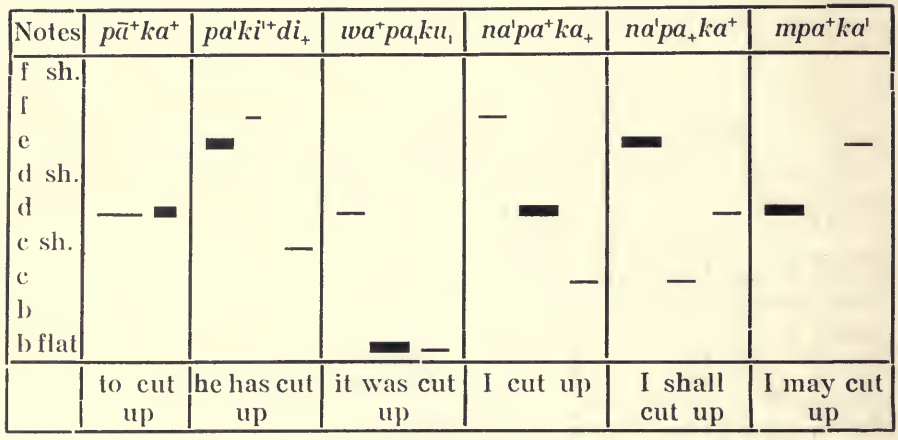
Notes	$ba^{\prime}ka_{+}$	$ba^{+}ki_{\prime}di_{\prime}$	$wa^{+}ba_{\prime}ku_{\prime}$	$na^{\prime}ba^{+-}ka_{+}$	$na^{\prime}ba_{+}ka_{+}$	$m_{+}ba^{+}ka_{+}$
f sh.						
f				▬		
e	▬				▬	
d sh.						
d		▬	▬	(—)		▬
c sh				—		
c	—				— —	— —
b						
b flat		— —	▬ —			
	to catch	he has caught	he was caught	I caught	I shall catch	I may catch

b) Cf. *N.* 208, 216, 211—214.

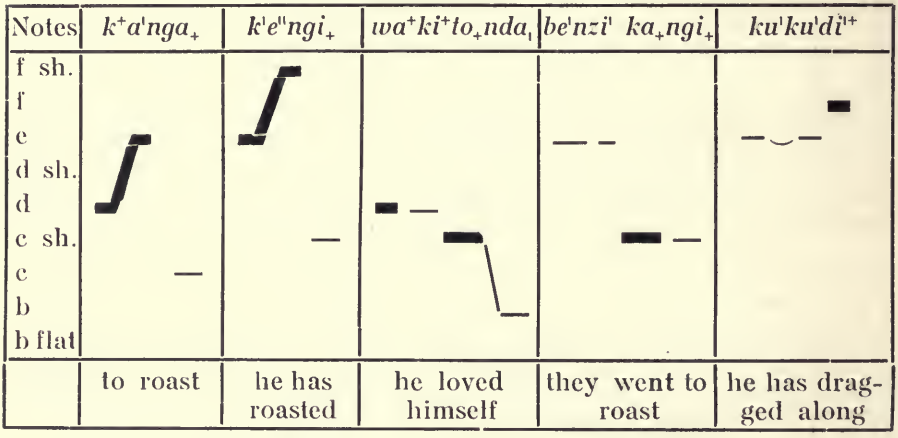
Notes	$ka_{+}ba^{+}$	$ka^{\prime}bi_{+}di_{+}$[1]	$wa_{+}ka^{\prime}bu_{+}$	$na^{\prime}ka^{\prime}ba_{+}$	$na^{+}ka^{+}ba^{\prime -}$	$nka^{\prime}ba_{+}$
f sh.		▬				
f						▬
e			▬	— ▬	(—)	
d sh.					▬	
d	▬				▬ —	
c sh		— —				
c	—		— —	—		—
b						
b flat						
	to give	he has given	be was given	I gave	I shall give	I may give

[1]) As for acute pitch (a′), see 26.

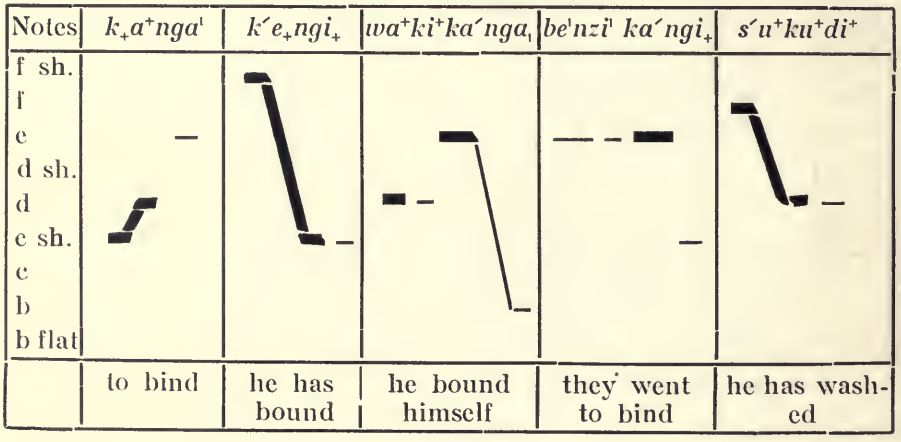
c) Cf. *N.* 218, 226, 221—224.



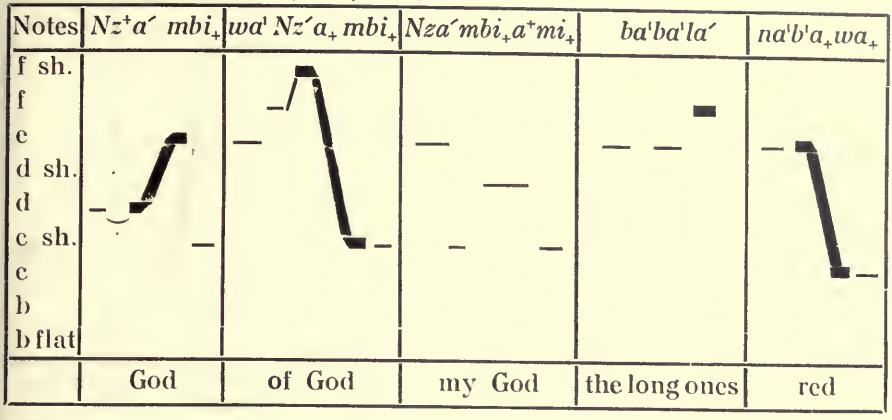
d) Cf. *N.* 228, 230, 231, 229, 237.



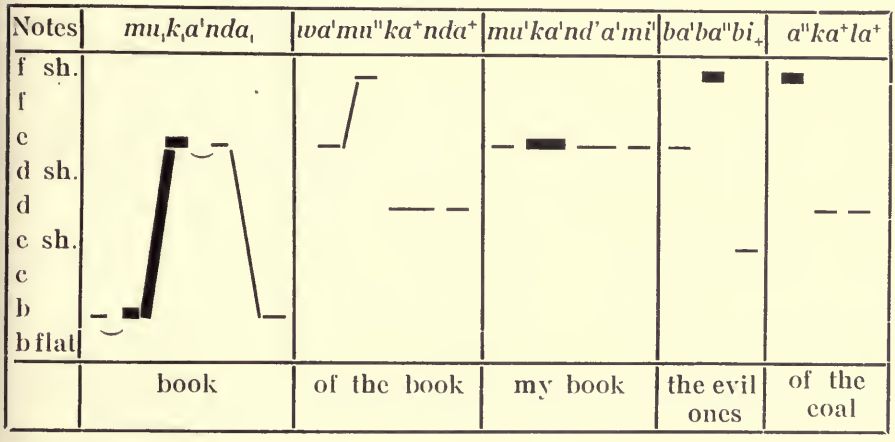
e) Cf. *N,* 232, 234, 235, 233, 241.



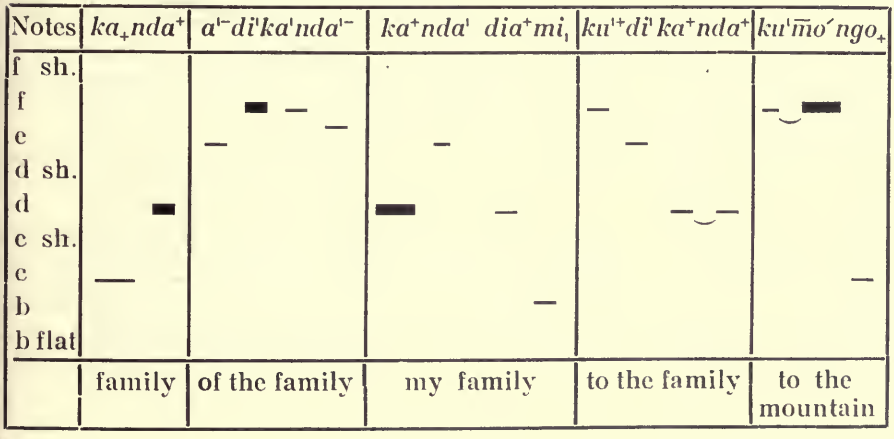
f) Cf. *N.* 47. 163, 180, 179, 135.



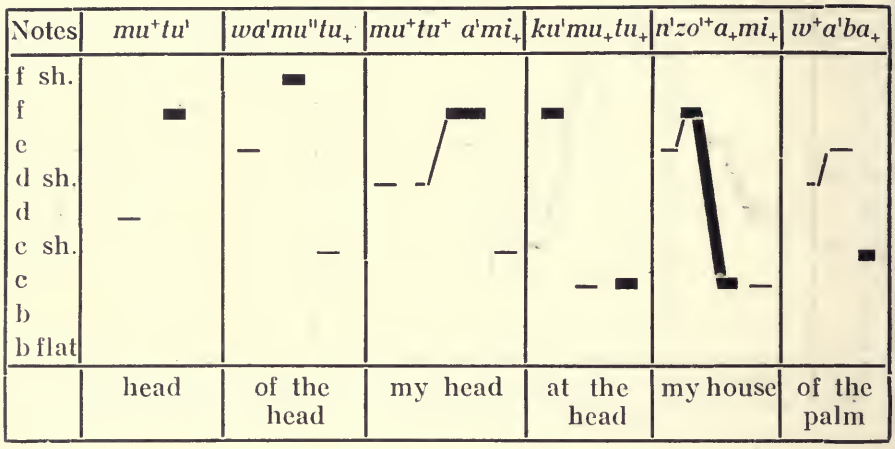
g) Cf. 37, 169. 184, 178, 174.



h) Cf. *N.* 101, 175, 185, 193, 192.



i) Cf. *N.* 13, 165, 186, 190, 188, 164.



Musical Transcription of the Pitch.

(The words are spoken by A. Kionga and the transcription is done by Dr. Heinitz).

19. The signs used with the notes to represent pitch and stress are:

Sign of addition (+) indicates that the note marked thus is a $^1/_4$ tone higher.

Sign of minus (—) indicates that it is a $^1/_4$ tone lower,

The sign > indicates that the syllable marked thus has the strongest stress.

A mark of interrogation (?) at the note indicates that the note (tone) could not be exactly reproduced in the record.

In the different rules reference is often made to these notes by the capital *N.* and the number of the example.

Note 1. The examples 205—207 are not spoken by A. Kionga but inserted for the sake of comparison with the other verbs.

Note 2. When referring to mono-, dis-, or trisyllabic nouns we never include the prefixes, because they vary very much in the dialects and are often omitted. Sometimes they have a great influence on the pitch and sometimes no influence at all. Examples are given in the rules.

I. GROUND-PITCH.

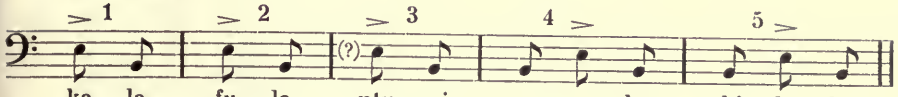
A. Variations in High Pitch.

1. High pitch.

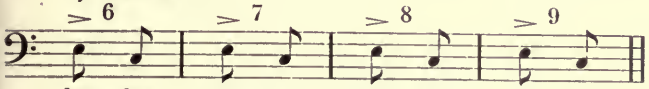
a) With a falling intonation.

Dissyllables.

a) Nouns.



1	2	3	4	5
ka - la,	fu - la,	ntu - mi,	mu - sa - ku,	ki - lo - ko.
coal,	road,	messenger,	calabash,	thing.

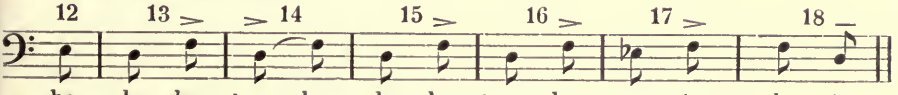
b) Verbs.

6	7	8	9
ke - ba,	bu - ta,	ka - ma,	ba - ka.
to keep,	to bear,	to squeeze,	to catch.

Trisyllables.

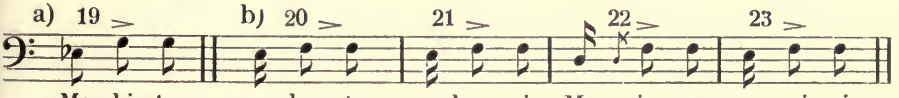
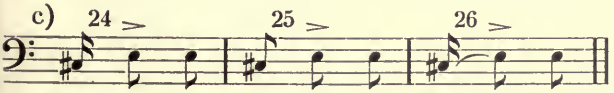
10	11
Zo - bo - ngo,	nku - mbu - la.
an antilope,	stone etc. for loading guns.

b) With a level intonation [1].

Monosyllables.

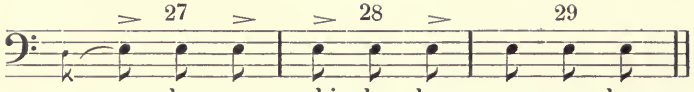


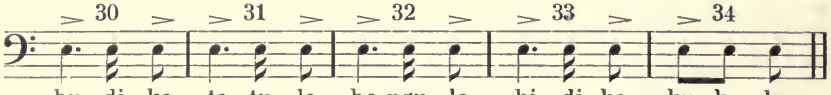
12	13	14	15	16	17	18
ba,	lu - bu,	pl. m - bu,	bu - ko,	pl. ma - ko,	pl. ma - ta,	sing. bu - ta.
palm,	mosquito,	mosquitoes,	father-in-law,	parents-in-law,	guns,	gun (in dialects) Cf. 60—62.

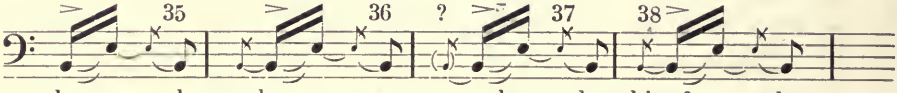
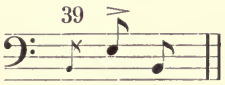
Dissyllables.

a) 19	b) 20	21	22	23
Ma - ki - tu.	mu - ke - nto,	n - kwe - zi	Ma - via - ngu,	mu - wi - si.
a name.	woman,	father-in-law,	a name,	smoke.

c) 24	25	26
Ma - ko - la,	Bi - to - la,	M - pu - ya.
a name,	a name,	a name.

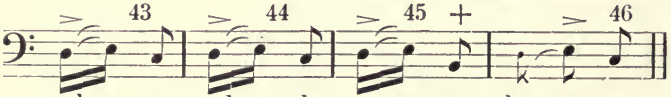
[1] As for 20, 23, 28, 29 with the semi-acute pitch, see § 58.

Trisyllables.

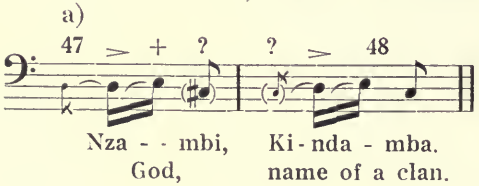
a) Nouns.

b) Verbs.



2. Low-High pitch.

As for 40, 41, 42, see 49 a, 49 b, 49 c.

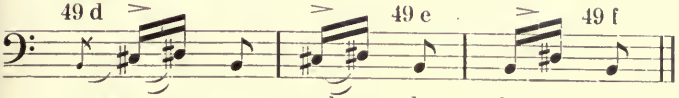
3. Semi-high-High pitch.

4. Acute pitch.

a) With a rising root-pitch.

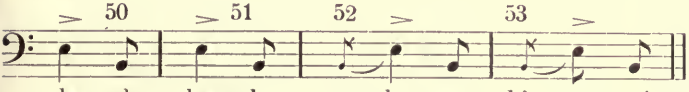


b)

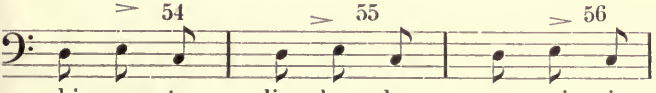
di - - su, ku - lu, ki - la.
eye, leg, thing.

c)

mwa - - - na, pl. ba - - la, ko - - ko.
child, children, arm.

b) With a level root-pitch.

a)

ka - nda, nkwa - la, mu - lo - nga, ki - wa - nzi.
paw, mat, line, row, tomato.

b)



ki - mpe - te, di - nka - nda, mu - ngi - zi.
a small fish, the part underneath of a palm-branch, stroke, line.

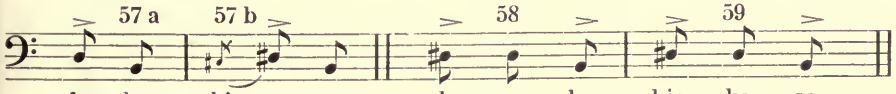
5. Grave pitch in the Bembe dialect.

As for examples, cf. 8 *N*.

B. Variations in Semi-high Pitch.

1. Semi-high pitch.

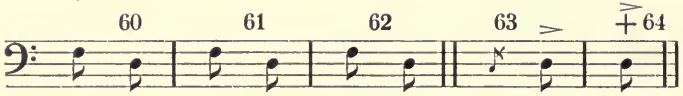
a) With a falling intonation.

Dissyllables. *Trisyllables.*

fu - la, ki - e - se. nko - ngo - lo, hia - ka - sa.
lung, joy. height of an animal, leaves that are used as sand-paper.

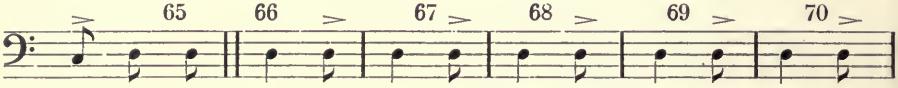
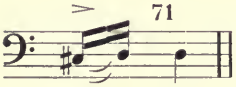
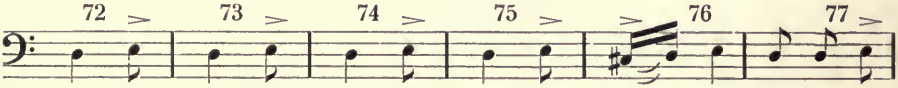
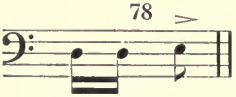
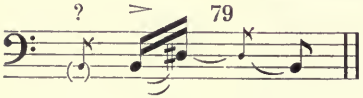
b) With a level intonation.

Monosyllables [1]).

a) Nouns. b) Verbs.



Dissyllables.

a) Nouns. b) Verbs.

c) With a rising intonation.

2. Low-Semi-high pitch.

As for 80, 81, 83, see 49 d, 49 e, 49 f, and 82 see 57 b.

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[1]) Cf. 2 N. 48—55.

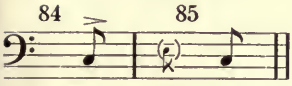
C. Variations in Semi-low Pitch.

1. Semi-low pitch.

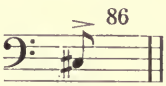
With a level intonation.

Monosyllables.

a) Nouns[1]).

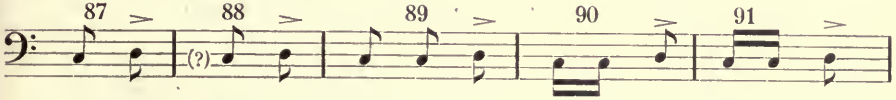


ko > di - ko.
plantain, plantain.

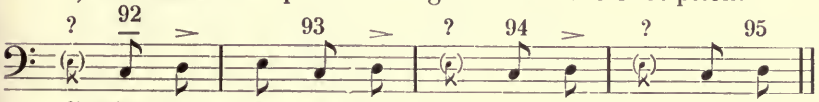
b) Verbs.

ba.
to be.

2. Semi-low root-pitch and semi-high ultima-pitch.

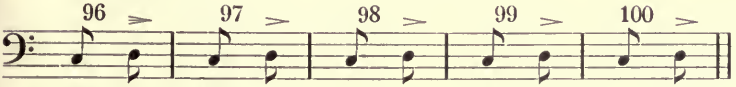
a) Words with a short root-syllable.

a) Nouns whose prefix is as low as the root-pitch.

to - ko, ngo - lo, ma - la - mu, mvi - - la, ki - bu - ka.
a young man, power, palm-wine, clan, place.

b) Nouns whose prefix is higher than the root-pitch.



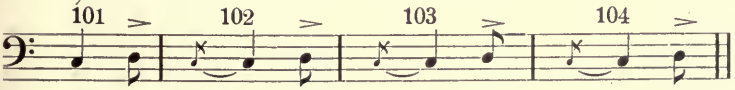
di- nko-ndo, ki - nto-mbo, di - nza - nda, mu - nku - ka.
plantain, a bird, fringe, a bird.

c) Verbs.

ya - la, fu - ta, nu - na, ka - ba, sa - mpa.
to spread, to pay, to be old, to give, divide, to surge.

b) Words with a long root-syllable.

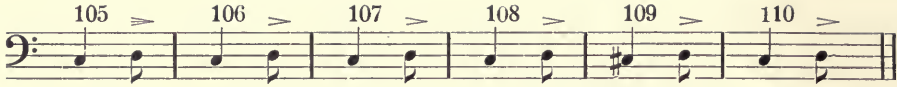
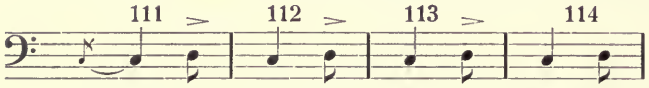
1. Beginning with a consonant.

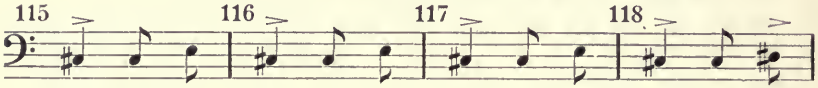
a) Nouns.



ye - mbo, nga - - nzi, ki - di - mbu, mu - la - ngu.
ecstasy, anger, sign, water.

[1]) Or with a semi-high pitch. Cf. 2 N 55.

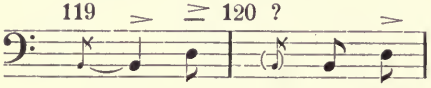
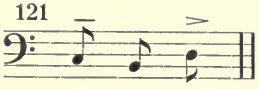
b) Verbs.

2. Beginning with a vowel which coalesces with the prefix.

3. Semi-low root pitch and high ultima-pitch.



4. High-Semi-low pitch.

See the examples 134, 135.

D. Low Pitch.

a) Nouns whose prefix is as low as the root-pitch.

b) Nouns whose prefix is higher than the root-pitch.

Cf. influenced pitch *N.* 124, 125 etc.

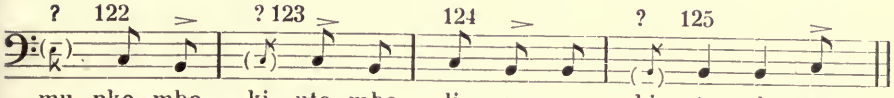
II. INFLUENCED PITCH.

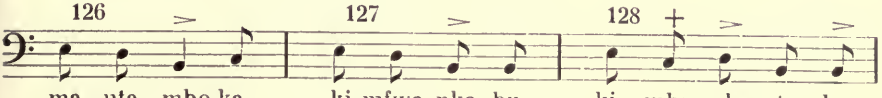
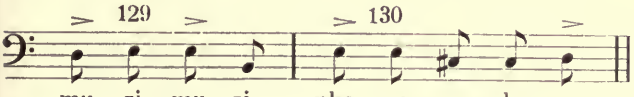
A. In Word-formation.

Nouns formed with a prefix.

a) From nouns and verbs with a high ground-pitch.

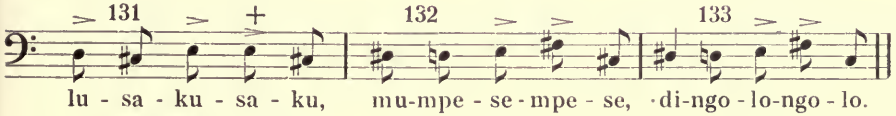
a) New stems.



b) Compound and reduplicative words.

b) From nouns and verbs with a semi-low ground-pitch.

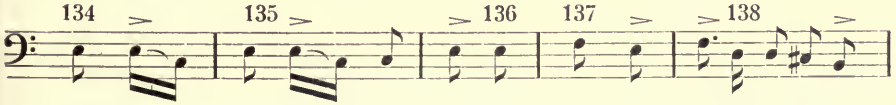
a) New stems. Cf. 92, 93, 50—56.

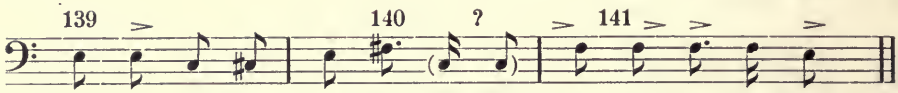
b) Reduplicatives.



Nouns formed with the particle na.

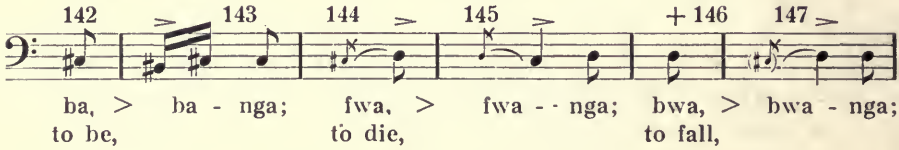
From nouns and verbs with a high or a semi-low ground-pitch.



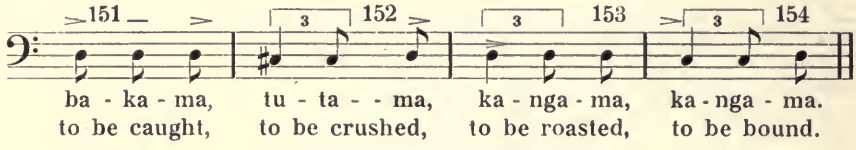


Derived verbs.

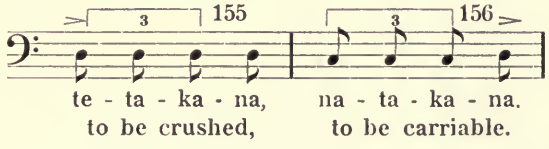
a) With *-nga*.



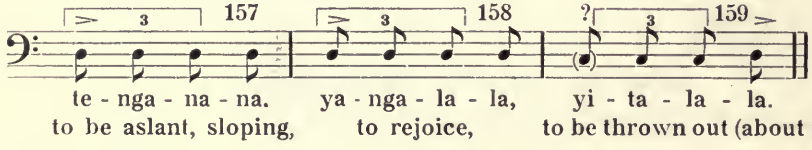
b) With *-ama*.



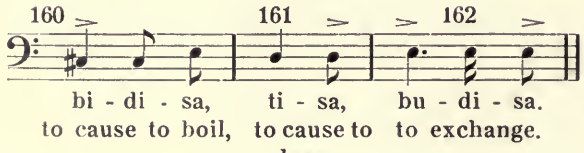
c) With *-akana*.



d) With *-anana, -alala*.

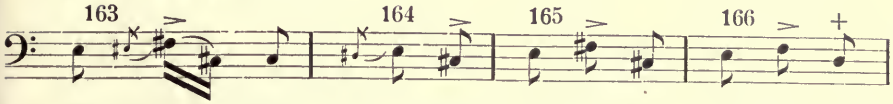
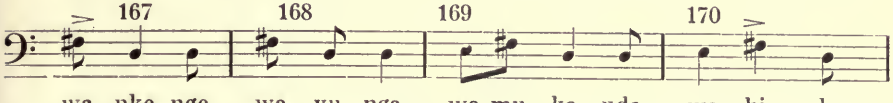


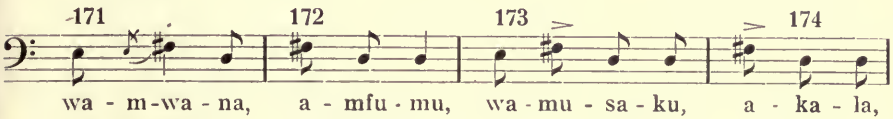
e) With *-isa, -ila* etc.

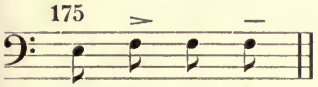


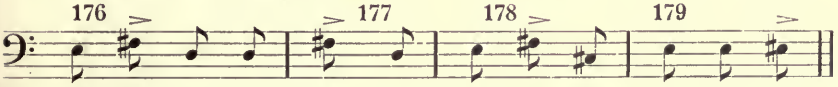
B. In Connected Speech.

Examples of nouns with different ground-pitch.

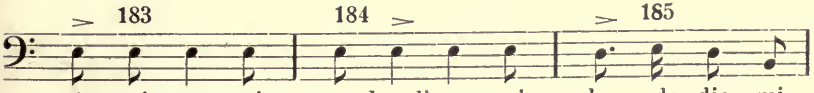
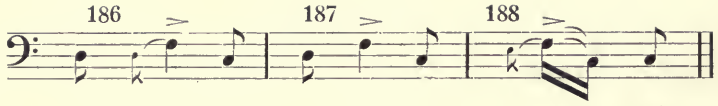
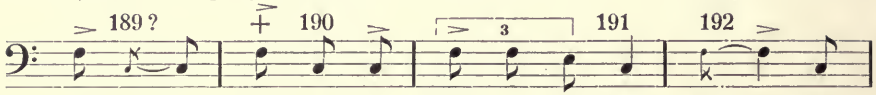
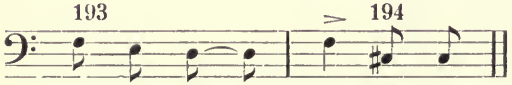
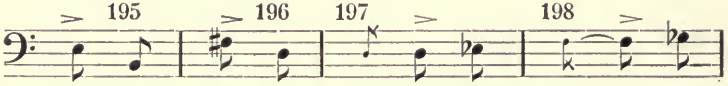
a) With a genitive.

wa - N - - za - - mbi, wa - - ba, wa - mu - tu, wa - ki - to,
God's of the palm, of the head, of the leg,

wa - nke - nge, wa - vu - nga, wa-mu - ka - nda, wa - ki - - la,
of the nkenge day, of the blanket, of the book, of the thing,



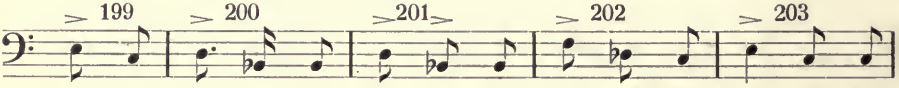
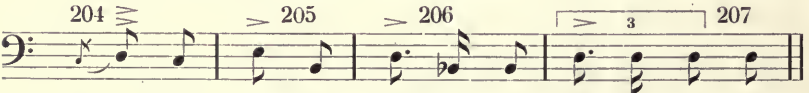
wa - m-wa - na, a - mfu - mu, wa - mu - sa - ku, a - ka - la,
of the child, of the chief, of the calabash, of the coal,

a - ki - bu - ka.
of the place.

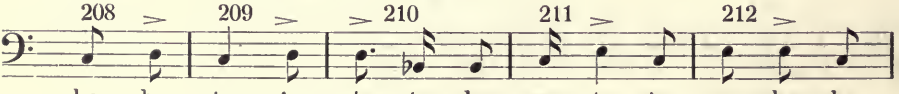
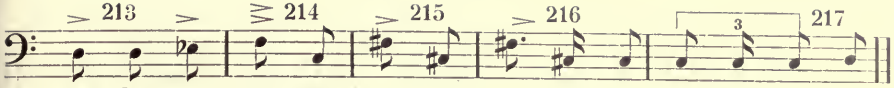
b) With noun-adjectives.

ba - ba - ne - ne, ba - mbi, ba - ba - bi, ba - ba - la.
the great ones, the evil ones, the evil ones, the long ones.

c) With a possessive.

Nza-mbi a - mi, di-nga dia - mi, ka - nda dia - mi,
my God, my neck, my paw (hand),

ntu - mi a - mi, mu-kand' a - mi, ka - nda dia - mi,
my messenger, my book, my family,

d) With a preposition.

e) In a question.

Examples of verbs with different ground-pitch.

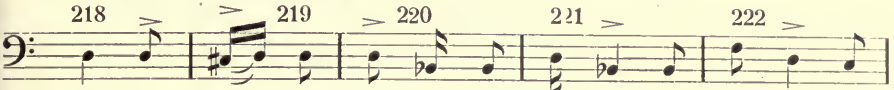
a) In the infinitive, different tenses, and persons.

a) With a high ground-pitch.

b) With a semi-low ground-pitch.

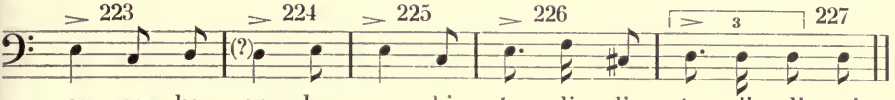


na - ka - ba, nka - ba, ke - hi, tu - ti - di, tu - ti - di - ngi.
I shall give, I may give, he has given, he has crushed, he has been crushing.

c) With a semi-high ground-pitch.

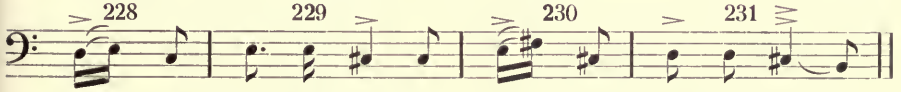


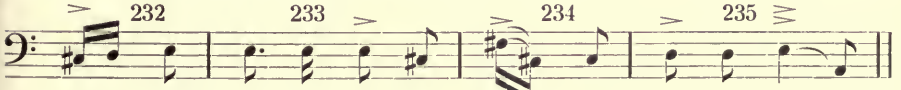
tu - la, pa - - ka, pa - ku - lu, wa - pa - ku, na - pa - ka,
to put, to place, to cut up, it is cut up, it was cut up, I cut (it) up,



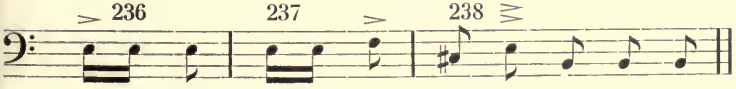
na - pa - ka, mpa - ka, pe - ki, tu - di - di, tu - di - di - ngi.
I shall cut up, I may cut up, he has cut up, he has put, he has been putting.

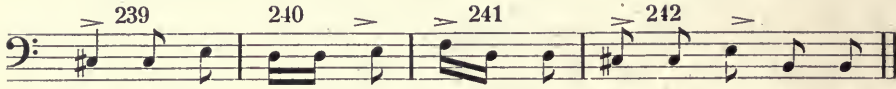
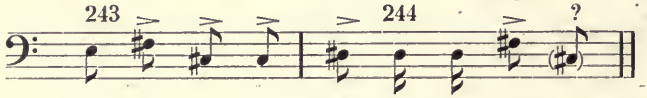
b) In the infinitive, infinitive of purpose, perfect, and with the reflexive *ki*.

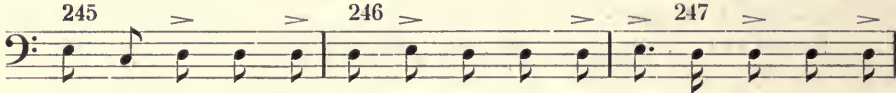
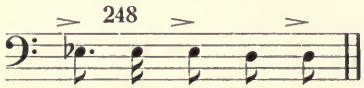
a) With a semi-high-high ground-pitch.

ka - - nga, be - nzi ka - ngi, ke - - ngi, wa - ki - to - nda.
to toast, to roast, they went to roast, he has roasted, he thanked himself.

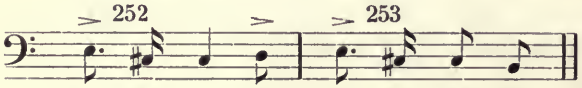
b) With a semi-low-semi-high ground-pitch.

ka - - nga, be - nzi ka - ngi, ke - - ngi, wa - ki - ka - nga.
to bind, they went to bind, he has bound, he bound himself.

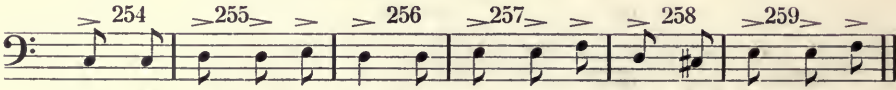
c) Trisyllables in the infinitive, perfect, and with the reflexive *ki*.

a) With a high root-pitch and a high ultima-pitch.

ku - ku - la, ku - ku - di, wa - ki - hi - di - ka.
drag along (with), he has dragged along, he got ready.

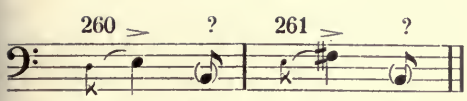
b) With a semi-low or semi-high root-pitch and a high ultima-pitch.

With an objective pronoun of the second person.

With a negation.

a) With the *ka—ko.*

b) In the negative mood.

c) In the consecutive negative.

In the imperative.



In a question.



lwe - - - ki, lwe - - - ki?
he has arrived, has he arrived?

Comments on the Notes.

(To be read after a study of the rules).

20. In studying the notes we may notice many interesting facts, which are not indicated in the rules, e. g. different shades of quantity and accent, $^1/_4$ and $^1/_2$ tones, appoggiatura with gliding tone, some variations in the same pitch, and comparisons between the influenced pitch and its own ground-pitch and its relations to other influenced pitches and their ground-pitches.

a) Different shades of quantity and accent we note in the words with triplets, viz 152—159, 191, 207, 217, 227.

When the root-syllable is long and pronounced rising, the ultima does not fall so much. Cf. 47, 48 with 50—53. If the ultima has a gliding tone it falls to a low pitch. Cf. 35—38.

In 181 the possessive has shorter syllables than in 180, though it has the same ground-pitch, but in 181 the pitch of the principal word is falling and the strong stress more noticeable than in 180. In 182 and 185 the root-syllable has strong stress and the possessive has the same quantity as in 181. In the other examples with possessives we note that the first syllable of the possessive is long, because the preceding vowel has passed into a semi-vowel (183, 186) or has been lost (184, 187). In 188 it is falling, when not preceded by a full tone or syllable.

The influence of a nasal in words with the same ground-pitch we note in 167 and 169 with a long root-syllable but in 168 with a long ultima. *Mu* in 169 is pronounced as the nasal with *u*-quality in other dialects. The nasal with *i*-quality often gets a pitch before a voiced consonant, e. g. mbaka (204). Compare with 214, 224. As for nasals, see 3, 7, 8, and 9 *N.*

Compare the quantity and the stress in the preterit of *báka, pāká, kabá, tūtá: nábaka* (202), *napăka* (222), *nakába natŭta*, (212); in the future: *năbaka* (203), *năpaka* (223), *nákabá, nátutá* (213). Compare also in the perfect etc.

The genitive-pitch may lose its strong stress and high pitch, but in 192 we note that the preposition *ku* before a nasal prefix (with

u-quality) and acute pitch passes into an appoggiatura. And 189 is an example of a nasal prefix with *i*-quality.

Semi-vowel often loses its short quantity and tone, e. g. 21, 53, 59, 114 etc. In some prefixes and root-syllables it retains its very short quantity and tone, e. g. 22, 49 d, 57 b etc.

Very short penults in nouns and in verbs we note in 30—33, 141, 200, 206, 210, 216, 220, 226, when the preceding syllable is half-long. Cf. also 249, 250 and 252.

As for very short prefix-syllables, see c.

b) The $^1/_4$ and $^1/_2$ tones have not as a rule been marked by signs in the rules. In some cases they have been denoted (cf. 131, 132), but practically they are of no importance, because the intervals are usually the same and they are correctly marked by the fixed signs. In 213 and 150 the ultima is only one semitone higher and in 139 one semitone lower.

In 148 and 151 there should be the same pitch in all syllables according to the same ground-pitch, but in 148 the penult is pronounced long with a strong rhytmic accent and in 151 the stress is stronger in the root and ultima. Cf. d.

c) The appoggiatura with gliding tone we note not only with nasal prefixes but also with other prefixes before a rising pitch (36—38, 47, 48, 52, 53) and semi-low or low root-pitch (102—104, 119). See also the verbs 144, 145, 147.

In several words it has no gliding tone, when the root is devoid of rising pitch, e. g. 39, and in derivatives: 92, 94, 95, 122, 123.

In nouns with a high pitch in a short root-syllable there is no appoggiatura. The prefixes have full tone, shorter or longer, and nasals with *u*-quality have also a full tone, e. g. 21. Cf. 3—5, 19—26.

The level gliding tone we find in some nouns with a semi-low root-pitch: 90, 91, and in verbs: 34 and 78, and in the perfect: 237, but in 241 it is falling. We may also note the difference in rising and falling in 230 and 234.

As for examples of falling tone in emphasis, see 134, 135. Cf. also 3 *N.* and 7 *N.*

d) Difference of pitch in the same root-pitch we find in monosyllables, according as the prefix-pitch is pronounced higher or lower than the root. Cf. 12—18 with 60—62. In the dissyllables 1—5 there is no difference.

In the trisyllables 11 has a lower ultima because of strong stress. And 58, 59 have the same intervals as 10 but are pronounced one semitone lower.

We note that 79 differs a little from 35—38, probably because of its derivation from *samba*. The same variation we find in 57 b < *kia*.

Regarding the acute pitch (47—56) we find that the word 48 is derived from *la₊mba*. Cf. 79. Cf. also 47 and 52 with 8 and 9 *N*. 1 and 8. The word 52 is derived from *lo₊ngalala, longalakana;* 51 from *kwa₊lumuka;* 50 from *ka₊nda;* 39 probably from *wa₊nzuka*. Cf. 54 with 8 *N* 27. In 49 e and 49 f the root-syllable is often pronounced very long and accentuated, e. g. *kwoko, baala*. Cf. 8 and 9 *N*. f.

The difference of pitch in the different classes of words with a rising intonation is readily noticeable.

e) Considering the influenced pitch in nouns and verbs we notice that both in word-formation and in connected speech the changes of pitch follow fixed rules according to the character of the ground-pitch and of the primitive word. We have already noticed different shades of quantity and accent, and it will be of great interest to the student to compare the influenced pitch of the different word-formations and of the different inflections of nouns and verbs with its own ground-pitch and with the influenced pitch itself in reciprocal relations.

II. Function of the Pitch.

Varying Character of the Pitch.

21. The *syllabic pitch* is the pitch or intonation within the syllable itself. There are three principal 'forms' or 'inflections' of intonation: level, rising and falling. Sometimes there occurs a combined falling rising intonation. As for the syllabic pitch, we note the ground-pitch, viz. the pitch of the root-syllable, and that of the final syllable. These fix the intonation of the word. For examples, see 18.

Other variations in syllabic pitch are prefix-pitch, pronominal-pitch, genitive-pitch etc. Se IV and V.

22. The *word-pitch* is the pitch or intonation within the word itself. It is falling, when the pitch falls from the first syllable

towards the end of the word; rising when it rises from the first syllable towards the end; level when all the syllables have the same pitch, and combined when the pitch falls and rises or rises and falls within the same word. Cf. examples in 18 and *N.* 131—133.

23. The *ground-pitch* (an etymologic pitch) is the fixed pitch of the isolated word, of which the root-pitch is the principal one.

The ground-pitch often undergoes a smaller or greater change (influenced pitch) on account of the influence of another pitch or because of its position in the sentence. With regard to the ground-pitch there are in the Kongo language an equal number of primitive words having a falling and a rising intonation.

24. The *influenced pitch* is the change of pitch that may arise owing to inflection, derivation or position in the sentence. It is a modification of pitch that concerns partly the words (word-pitch) and partly the sentence (sentence-pitch, i. e. intonation within the sentence). As for the sentence-pitch, see 78, 79.

With regard to the influenced pitch the falling intonation within the sentence is most frequent, because in the genitive, with a preposition, in verb-inflection, and word-formation a rising intonation very often passes into a falling intonation.

25. The influenced pitch is either *grammatically* or *psychologically* influenced or both, which appears from the genitive-pitch as well as from the preposition-pitch, pronominal-pitch, preterit-pitch, future-pitch, perfect-pitch, interrogative-pitch, imperative-pitch, and several others. As for the psychologically influenced ground-pitch see 40.

26. The *acute (a´)* and *grave (a`)* pitch are partly psychological and partly grammatical pitches. They have a special character both as to their pronunciation and their influence upon the pitch-rules, and have therefore been given special signs so as to be more easily recognized.

a) The acute pitch in primitive words is a high root-pitch with a rising character both as to its tone and its stress. It has contrary to other variations in the ground-pitch a great influence on other high pitches, e. g. the genitive-pitch (82). Cf. the examples 18, f and g, and d and e.

In word-formation the prefix always has a lower pitch: *di⁺nka´nda*$_{+}$ instead of $'_{+}{}^{+}$.

As an etymologic pitch it appears in many words which in the adjoining languages and dialects have the grave or semi-low pitch: *ngwa´di*$_{+}$, *n*$^{+}$*gw`a*$^{+}$*ri*$^{+}$ (Be), *ngw'a*$_{+}$*li*$^{+}$ (Ya), francolin.

A word with an acute pitch has an intonation which falls to the extent of 4, 5, and 6 semitones, but a word with a grave pitch has only a fall of 3 semitones.

In some cases according to the dialect the influenced acute pitch may be pronounced falling, but always to the same extent. Cf. 18, e, *k´e*$_{+}$*ngi*$_{+}$*:* f, *wa*^{1} *Nz´a*$_{+}$*mbi*$_{+}$.

As a psychological pitch it appears in a great many words in order to distinguish them in meaning from other similar words, whether derived or not: *Mpo´di*$_{+}$, a fetish which sucks out < *ṵo*$_{+}$*la*$^{+}$, to suck out; but: — *mṵo*$_{+}$*di*$^{+}$, a person who sucks out.

As a grammatical pitch it appears in the inflections of verbs with a rising intonation etc. See 18, e.

b) The grave pitch in primitive words is a high or semi-high root-pitch with a falling character, but the falling is only to an extent of 3 semitones: *N*$^{+}$*z`a*$^{+}$*mbi*$^{+}$ (Be), *mu*$^{+}$*s`a*$^{+}$*lu*$^{+}$ (Be), crayfish, shrimp. It has the same influence upon the high genitive-pitch etc. as the acute pitch: *ki*$^{+}$*a*$_{+}$*b`e*$^{+}$*nu*$^{+}$, your <*be*$^{+}$ or *b`e*$^{+}$*nu*$^{+}$, you.

As an etymologic pitch it appears in the Bembe dialect in primitive words which in Kongo, Yaka etc. have the acute or semi-low pitch (with a rising intonation). The primitive words in Bembe have a falling intonation. Cf. 8 *N.*

As a grammatical pitch it is not yet fully investigated, but it seems to have the same character as the acute pitch. Cf. also the rules for the acute (56, 57) and grave pitch (72), and the comments on 8 and 9 *N.*

27. A *falling* or *rising* ground- or influenced pitch often occurs.

In the Kingoyi dialect the root-syllable has a level or a rising pitch; occasionally it may be a falling one in connected speech. Cf. the 1st table of notes. In the Mazinga dialect the root-syllable has a gliding pitch, which may be of different character: descending in words with a falling intonation, ascending in words with a rising intonation, or level in a level intonation. Cf. 2 *N.* and 4 *N.* In the Ndingi and Bembe dialect (3, 8 *N.*) the root-pitch is falling, except in words with a level intonation.

a) The variations in the rising ground-pitch in the root-syllable

are low-high (*mb$_{\iota}$u'ngu*, *N.* 36), semi-low-semi-high (*k$_{+}$a^{+}nga*, *N.* 76, *paka*, 71, *bala*, 49, d), semi-high-high (*k^{+}a'nga*, *N.* 43, *Nz^{+}a'mbi*, 47).

The rising influenced pitch we notice in some cases, e. g. *k'e''ngi N.*230.

The final syllable sometimes has a rising intonation in connected speech. See 4 *N.* - - - *t$_{+}$e$_{\iota}$l$_{+}$e'*.

b) The falling ground-pitch has the following variations: very high-high (*kib''e'ndi'*, 3 *N.* 2), high-low (*kib'e$_{\iota}$ndi$_{\iota}$*, 3 *N.* 3), high-semi-high *n'a^{+}na^{+}*, 3 *N.* 23), semi-high-semi-low or low (*t^{+}a$_{+}$tu$_{\iota}$*, 3 *N.* 9, *tanu*, 11, *kwai* 8. Cf. also 2 *N.* and 4 *N.*

The final syllable has a semi-low-low pitch, *bisa'mba'n^{+}u$_{\iota}$*, 3 *N.* 21.

The falling influenced pitch is of several variations: very high-semi-low (*k''e$_{+}$ngi, N.* 234), high-low (*di'e$_{\iota}$ni*, 3 *N.* 5) etc. Cf. 4 *N.*

There is also a level gliding pitch: high (*k'u'kula, N.* 236), semi-high (*s̄$^{+}$u^{+}kula*, *N.* 240), or semi-low (*mw$_{+}$i$_{+}$la*, *N.* 90).

As for the gliding pitch in nasal- and other prefixes, see the comments on notes 20 and the examples in the 2 *N.*

c) The future mark *a* often takes a combined falling rising pitch for instance in a question: *yasumba*?

Stress and Pitch.

28. *In general.* The strong stress in the Kongo language may be placed on different syllables, whether they are high or low, rising or falling, because pitch and position in the sentence may have a strong influence upon the accent.

In the imperative mood and in emphasis of different kinds the stress is increased. The imperative is often pronounced in a lower key, but in emphasis the words may have a higher or a lower pitch according to their meaning: *tá$_{+}$la$_{+}$* < *ta'la$_{+}$*, to see; *na''dë'*, a sound of something crashing; *na'd'ē$_{+}$*, sound of a dull shot etc.

The strong stress can in monosyllabic nouns be transferred to the prefix and form a new stem: *bu^{+}lá'*, village, or *bu'la$_{+}$*, when the stress is equally strong on both syllables. From this pl. *mabúla*, or *bwála*, pl. *mabwála*.

When words, whose root has strong stress, are provided with prefixes which cannot be strongly stressed, both the strong stress of the root and the secondary stress of the ultima are weakened a little, e. g. *kubáka* < *báka*.

Nouns which have a falling intonation, as is the case with many verbs, have stronger stress on the root-syllable and weaker stress on the ultima than the verbs. The ultima-pitch is also lower: *bá'ka$_{\iota}$*

wall; *bá'kà*$_+$, to catch. See also the following rules. Cf. the examples in the musical transcription (19) and the graphical examples (18).

29. a) The strong stress in *mono-* and *dissyllabic* primitive words is as a rule on the root-vowel, unless the intonation is rising, when it is often on the ultima: *Nsó´nde*$_+$, a fetish; *nk*$_|$*ë'nge*$_|$, name of a day; *mfú'mu*$_|$, chief; *mu*$_+$*tú'*, head; *bá'ka*$_+$, to get, catch; *k*$^+$*á'nga*$_+$, to roast. But: — *ki*$_+$*bù*$_+$*ká*$^+$, place; *tò*$_+$*kó*$^+$, young man; *kà*$_+$*bá*$^+$, to divide, give; *ká*$^+$*ngá'* or *k*$_+$*á*$^+$*ngà'*, to bind. As soon as these verbs are pronounced with a rising root-pitch the strong stress remains on the root-syllable, and the ultima has secondary stress.

b) A monosyllabic word, whose prefix-pitch is higher than the root-pitch, has an equally strong accent on prefix and root, e. g. *ki'ba*$^+$, stinger; *bu'ta*$^+$, gun, but pl. *ma*$^+$*tá'*.

c) If the nasal prefix has a full or rising tone, it often has strong stress, e. g. *ḿ*$^+$*bu'*, gnats, *N.* 14. Cf. also *ńka'nda' e'to*$_+$ etc. 2 *N.* 42, 43.

d) A prefix-vowel, which has become a semi-vowel before a root-vowel, has weak stress, e. g. *mwána*, child, *N.* 49, d.

e) Verbs with a level intonation usually have the strong stress on the ultima, unless the root-pitch is pronounced with a rise; *tù*$^+$*lá*$^+$, *pà*$^+$*ká*$^+$ or *p*$_+$*á*$^+$*kà*$^+$. The ultima is then usually $^1/_4$ or $^1/_2$ tone lower.

The other primitive words follow the principal rule, e. g. *mu-kë'nto'*, *N.* 20. An exception is, for instance, *múdi*$^+$*ma*$^+$, *N.* 65, whose prefix has strong stress.

30. a) In *trisyllabic* words and their derivations with a level intonation the root-syllable as the ultima are, as a rule, strongly stressed: *mié'ke'sé'*, whiskers, *nkí´´du'kú'*[1]) < *ki*$_+$*di*$_+$*ká'*, to protect oneself against evil spirits.

The derived verbs with this level intonation have the strong stress on the root-syllable and the rhythmic accent on the penult, e. g. *ká*$^+$*ngà*$^+$*ma*$^+$, to be roasted. If the penult is pronounced a little lower ($^1/_4$ tone), the root-syllable as well as the ultima have equally strong stress, e. g. *bá*$^+$*ká*$^+$*má*$^+$. In polysyllables the root-syllable has strong stress and the following syllable and the penult about equally strong stress, e. g. *tē*$^+$*takàna*, *N.* 155 < *tē*$^+$*tá*$^+$, to crack (a nut); *tú*$^+$*di-dingi'ngi*, *N.* 227 < *tū*$^+$*lá*$^+$, to put.

b) In some trisyllabic words with a falling intonation, the ultima has as strong a stress as the root-syllable, e. g. *zó'bo'ngó*$_+$, an anti-

[1]) The word has the semi-acute pitch.

lope. If the intonation is rising, the ultima takes strong stress, e. g *bà₊ka₍lá⁺*, man. The derived verbs with a rising intonation have strong stress on the ultima, unless the root-syllable is pronounced with a rising intonation or an extra strong stress (emphasis): *tù₊ta₊má⁺ yi`₊ta₊la₊lá⁺*, to be thrown out; but also *bá₊ngu₊là'*, *bí´₊di₊sà'* or *tó´₊ mbu₊ká⁺*.

31. a) Words formed by prefixes have the strong stress on different syllables according to formation and intonation: *di₊nsú₍su₍*, a plant < *nsú'su*, fowl; *ki'nto₊mbó⁺*, a bird < *tó₊mbuká*. The prefixes in such words usually have secondary stress, but: — *mú⁺zĩ'-mú'zĩ₍*, a plant. *N.* 129.

b) If the word is formed with an acute pitch, the root-syllable always has strong stress, and the prefix has a lower pitch than the acute, e. g. *di⁺nká´nda₊* < *ká´nda₊*, or *ka₊ndá⁺*.

32. a) With regard to the strong stress the *compound words* follow the rules of the influenced pitch according to the formation and to the intonation of the word: *lù⁺sa₊kù'-sá´ku₊*, a plant < *sa₊kula di⁺ngo⁺⁻ló'-ngó´lo₊*, a plant < *ngo₊ló; ki'mbu₊mbá⁺ ntu₍lú₍*, a larva, *N.* 131, 133, 128. Cf. *muzi-musi* 31, a.

b) The words formed with *na* follow the same rules but are also influenced by meaning and emphasis: *nà'ng'ó₊*, red; *ná'nò'*, tired *ná'ke'le⁺ke₊sé₍*, a crunching sound; *na'bó'to₊to₊*, humid, moist; *ná'bè'zé' nge'lé'⁻*, a rattling sound. *N.* 134—141.

33. a) In the *inflection* of verbs in different tenses and persons the stress is on different syllables according to the tense-pitch and pronominal pitch: *bá'ka*, to catch; *wá⁺bá₍ku₍*, he was caught; *ná'ba⁺ka₊* I caught; *nā'ba₊ka₊*, I shall catch; *mbá⁺ka₊*, I may catch. *N.* 199—204.

The corresponding forms of *ka₊bá⁺*, to divide, give, are: *wa₊ká´bu₊ na'ká'ba₊*, *ná⁺ka⁺bá'*, *nká´ba₊*. *N.* 208 etc.

Of the verb *pā⁺ká⁺*: *wa⁺pā₍ku₍*, *na'pā⁺ka₊*, *nā'pa₊ka⁺*, *pá'ki'⁺di₊* he has cut up. *N.* 218 etc.

Of *tū₊tá⁺*: *ná⁺tu⁺tá'*, I shall crush; *tú´ti₊di₊*, he has crushed; but: — *ku'ku'di'⁺*, *N.* 237 < *kú'kula; sú´ku⁺di⁺*, *N.* 241 < *su⁺ku⁺la'* or *su₊kula*

b) In the objective pronominal prefixes the following should be noted: *me'* *ní''ti₊di₊*, I love you < *tia⁺; yá⁺ndi⁺ u⁺ti''di₊*, he loves you *N.* 243, 244.

With the reflexive pronoun *ki*: *wá⁺ki⁺ká´nga*$_{\downarrow}$, *N.* 235, he bound himself; *wa*$_{+}$*ki*$^{\shortdown}$*hi*$_{\downarrow}$*di*$_{\downarrow}$*ka*$_{\downarrow}$, *N.* 238, he got ready; *wá*$_{+}$*ki*$_{+}$*sú´ku*$_{\downarrow}$*la*$_{\downarrow}$, *N.* 242, he washed himself.

34. a) In the *genitive* (*N.* 163—175) we note that words with the acute root-pitch always retain the strong stress on the root-syllable, e. g. *wa*$^{\shortdown}$ *Nsó´nde*$_{+}$. Cf. also 2 *N.* 18, 19.

b) Nouns whose root-pitch is high or low-high, lose their strong stress, which then is placed on the genitive *a*, unless the word has a prefix with full pitch, in which case the prefix has the strong stress: *wá*$^{\shortdown\shortdown}$*nke⁺nge⁺*, *wa*$^{\shortdown}$*mú*$^{\shortdown\shortdown}$*sa⁺ku⁺*, *á*$^{\shortdown\shortdown}$*mfu⁺mu⁺*. Cf. also 2 *N.* 36, 61, 82, etc.

c) In monosyllabic nouns it should be noted that the strong stress falls on the prefix. When there is no prefix, the noun has the strong stress: *wa*$^{\shortdown}$*mú*$^{\shortdown\shortdown}$*tu*$_{+}$, of the head; *w⁺a*$^{\shortdown}$*bá*$_{+}$, of the palm. Cf. also 2 *N.* 62, 58—60.

In the adjectives we note *bá*$^{\shortdown\shortdown}$*mbi⁺*, *ba*$^{\shortdown}$*bá*$^{\shortdown\shortdown}$*bi*$_{+}$ *<bi*$^{\shortdown}$, but: — *ba⁺ndá´*, *ba*$^{\shortdown}$*ba*$^{\shortdown}$*lá´* *<lá´*, *N.* 176—179.

d) Dissyllables with semi-low ground-pitch follow the same rules: *a*$^{\shortdown}$*kí*$^{\shortdown}$*bu*$^{\shortdown}$*ka*$^{\shortdown}$.

35. In the *possessive* pronouns (*N.* 180—188) we should note that when two vowels meet, the monosyllabic nouns get a weaker root-pitch and the pronouns get the strong stress. The root vowel is pronounced as a semi-vowel. Examples: *muti⁺ á*$^{\shortdown\shortdown}$*mi*$_{+}$, my tree; *nzo*$^{\shortdown}$ *ā*$_{+}$*mi*$_{+}$, my house.

Note. nká$^{\shortdown}$*nd' ā*$^{\shortdown}$*mi*$^{\shortdown}$, *ntú*$^{\shortdown}$*mi*$^{\shortdown}$ *ā*$^{\shortdown}$*mi*$^{\shortdown}$. The *a* of the poss. pronouns has rhythmic accent. Other cases cf. 2 *N.* 40—47.

36. The *prepositions* (*N.* 189—194) *va*$^{\shortdown}$, *ku*$^{\shortdown}$, *mu*$^{\shortdown}$, as a rule, are strongly stressed in monosyllabic words, when they have no prefix, e. g. *kú*$^{\shortdown}$ *nsi*$_{+}$. With prefix: *kú*$^{\shortdown}$ *mu*$_{+}$*tú*$_{+}$, *kú*$^{\shortdown}$ *yu*$^{\shortdown}$*lù⁺ba*$_{+}$. The penult and the preceding syllable have secondary stress. But: — *ku*$^{\shortdown}$ *m̄ó´ngo*$_{+}$, to the hill *< m̄o*$_{+}$*ngo*, because the stress of the preposition is weakened before the nasal prefix and acute pitch. Cf. also 2 *N.* 21—27, 65—69, 85—93.

In other words with semi-low root-pitch we note that the word has about equally strong stress on all syllables, e. g. *ku*$^{\shortdown\shortdown}$ *ki*$^{\shortdown}$*bu⁺ka⁺*.

37. In the *imperative* (*N.* 254—259) all the syllables often have strong stress: *tá⁺lé⁺nó*$^{\shortdown}$ *<tá*$^{\shortdown}$*la*, *ká*$^{\shortdown}$*bé*$^{\shortdown}$*nó*$^{\shortdown+}$ *<kà*$_{+}$*bá*.

38. In *negations* (*N.* 245—248) we note: *na⁺ká'ba⁺ni⁺ kó⁺*, I did not give < *ka₊bá; ná'ka'bá'ni⁺ kó⁺*, I shall not give. Also: *na'ta₊lá⁺ni⁺ kó⁺, ná'ta⁺lá⁺ni⁺ kó⁺* < *tá'la*, to see. Cf. also 2 *N.* 126—128, 131—137.

Quantity and Pitch.

39. The quantity and the pitch exercise a strong influence upon each other. As for examples, see 40.

If a syllable has a rising or a falling pitch, it is lengthened and is also more strongly stressed: *ka⁺ngá'* or *k₊á⁺nga'*, *ke'ba*, to preserve; *k⁺e'mba*, to praise; *be'la*, to lose; *bē⁺la*, to be ill.

40. The *meaning of the word* also plays an important part both with regard to the quantity and the ground-pitch (as a psychological pitch), because a great number of the roots and primitive words are onomatopoetic.

A short syllable indicates a short, more fleeting sound, movement etc. a long one on the contrary a longer sustained sound.

The falling intonation indicates a sound, a movement, a feeling, colour etc as loud or strong, but at the same time as falling, decreasing.

A rising intonation on the other hand indicates a rise or increase of power, movement etc.

a) *ba'ka*, to catch. *bā₊ka*, to tear to pieces.
sa'la, to work. *sā₊la*, to stay, to remain,
tu₊ka, to pull up. *tū⁺ka⁺*, to come from.
la₊la, to disappear. *lā⁺la⁺*, to sleep.

b) *k⁺ó'mba*, to sweep. *ko₊mba*, to scoop out.
l⁺a'mba, to cook. *la₊mba*, to stretch out, to grow in length.
tu'ka, to revile. *tu₊ka*, vu₊za a. o. to pull up.
ṵo'la, to cool. *ṵo₊la*, to suck out.

c) *pie₊ta, pie₊la, pī₊ta, ka₊nga*, to tie, to bind up.
pa₊la, pu₊la, pa₊nga, to carry something in a wabbling walk.
pa₊pa, pu₊pa, to flap with the wings.
pe₊dima, ṵe₊zima, pe₊dia, to shine, to lighten.
na₊na, to stretch; *ka₊na*, to intend; *ma₊na*, to finish.
se₊ṵa, to laugh; *ṵē₊ṵa*, to swing.
kwe₊nda, to go; *kwi₊za*, to come; *zie₊ta*, to wander.
ku₊ndubula, to walk heavily.

d) *bu'fa, bi'fa, ba⁺n'da, di'ta, ka'nda*, to strike, to hit.

bo'mbuluka, ko'nzongula, to rattle.

to'mbuka, to whip out quickly; *to+mbuka,* to ascend a mountain.

41. The *grammatical pitch* also influences the quantity.

a) The personal pronoun in the preterit is short and has a very high pitch, e. g. *na''ba⁺ka+*. In the future it is long and has a somewhat lower pitch, e. g. *nā'ba+ka+*. If it is short on account of the rising intonation, all syllables are short. *N.* 213. The intonation in the preterit is changed in verbs with a semi-low root-pitch. *N.* 212.

b) The pronouns of the 3rd person in the preterit are very short, as soon as the ground-pitch is semi-high or semi-low. If it is high, the pronoun is not quite so short but has instead a stronger stress: *wa+ká´bu+*, but: — *wá⁺bá,ku,*. *N.* 211, 221, 201.

c) In the 3rd person perfect the root-syllable is somewhat lengthened and high whereas the following syllable becomes very short with a higher or lower pitch: *tū'di''di+*, *tū´ti+di+*, *pā⁺ku,lu,*, *pa⁺kidingi.* *N.* 226, 216, 220, 227.

d) In the negations a long root-syllable is shortened: *me'' yá'-nti+ni+*, (*N.* 249) < *tī⁺na,* to run away.

42. The *quantity of the root-syllable* exercises a great influence on the ground-pitch in the primitive words (monosyllables and dissyllables). If the root-syllable is followed by a nasalized consonant, the root-pitch, as a rule, is raised.

The root-syllable exercises its influence on the ground-pitch of the primitive words partly by its quantity (short or long), or by its formation (with or without a semi-vowel, with or without an abridged root- and prefix-vowel), and partly by the formation of the ultima (with or without a nasalized consonant).

In each of these formations the root-pitch is in the primitive words higher or lower than the pitch of the following syllable, that is to say the intonation of the word is either falling or rising, except in verbs, which have a long root-syllable and whose ultima has no nasalized consonant, and in some nouns. All these have a stem with a level intonation: *tū⁺la⁺*, *Makō'la'*.

A level intonation likewise appears, as a rule, in derived verbs or nouns, when the ground-root-pitch is high or semi-high: *nsō'ku'sa'*, sparrow < *so'ku'sa'*, to gossip: *ntu⁺du⁺lu⁺* < *tū⁺la⁺*,

Words with a semi-low or low ground-root-pitch have the same

pitch in all syllables except the ultima, which is higher, e. g. *ya₊lu₊mu₊na⁺*.

In Verbs.

43. The *monosyllabic* verbs are of two kinds:

a) Verbs whose root-vowel is the same as that of the infinitive-suffix *a*, have a semi-high pitch in the stem and in the verbs derived from these. In the derived verbs the root-vowel is long: *ta⁺*, to say > *tē⁺la⁺*. Sometimes the verb may be pronounced with a semi-low ground-pitch, viz. *ba₊*, *ba₊nga₊*. *N* 142, 143.

b) Verbs whose root-vowel remains and passes into a semi-vowel before *a*, have now a semi-high ground-pitch. The derived verbs generally have a semi-high pitch: *fwa⁺*, to die > *fwi⁺la⁺*; *bwa⁺*, to fall, > *bwi⁺la⁺*.

44. The *dissyllabic* verbs are of four kinds.

Those that have a long root-syllable.

a) Verbs whose root-syllable is not lengthened by a semi-vowel and whose ultima has no nasalized consonant., have a semi-high or a semi-low root-pitch. The ultima-pitch is semi-high in both cases: *tū⁺la⁺*, to lay > *tu⁺di⁺la⁺; tū₊ta⁺*, to crush > *tu₊ti₊la⁺*.

b) Verbs whose root-syllable is lengthened by a semi-vowel and whose ultima is similar to that of the above mentioned verbs, have the same root- and ultima-pitch as the preceding verbs: *twa⁺la*, to give > *twa⁺dila; dia₊ta*, to walk > *dia₊tila*.

c) Verbs whose root-syllable is lengthened by the insertion of a nasalized consonant in the ultima, have semi-high-high or semi-high root-pitch. The derivatives have a high or semi-low pitch: *k⁺o'mba*, to sweep > *ko'mb'ila'*; *ko⁺mba'*, to hollow out > *ko₊mbu₊la'*.

In dialects a few of these words are pronounced with a short root-vowel, but the root-pitch is nevertheless rising: *b⁺i'nda*, to bind.

Those that have a short root-syllable.

d) Verbs whose root-syllable is short, have a high or semi-low root-pitch: *ke'la₊*, to strain > *ke'di'la'; ke₊la⁺*, to slander > *ke₊di₊la⁺*.

In Monosyllabic Nouns. [1])

45. a) Monosyllabic nouns in which two vowels do not meet, have a high or semi-high pitch instead of the semi-low pitch: *ba'*, palm;

[1]) When speaking of mono-, dis-, tri- or polysyllabic nouns we never include the prefix-syllable.

ki'na⁺, season; *ngo₊* or *ngo⁺*, leopard. A few nouns with a semi-low pitch can also be pronounced with an acute pitch: *la´*, *nda´*, or *la₊*.

b) Monosyllabic nouns containing two consecutive vowels, which are actually dissyllables and are also pronounced as such, have a high or semi-low root-pitch: *la'u,,* *ki-*, lunatic; *nza,u⁺*, *zi-*, elephant.

In Dissyllabic Nouns.

46. Nouns whose stem begins with a consonant and has a long root-syllable.

a) In nouns formed according to 44, a, the ground-pitch varies as follows: *nle'ke₊*, younger brother; *ta´ta₊*, father; *ba'la'*, scale of fish; *ba₊la⁺*, board; *fū⁺la*, lung; *ki'b'e,ni,,* self (3 *N.* 3), *n'a⁺na⁺* (3 *N.* 23).

b) In nouns formed according to 44, b, we notice the following variations: *mpia'yi'*, grass fire; *mpia₊yi⁺*, whisk; *ngwa´di₊*, partridges; *nkwe'di'⁻* (2 *N.* 3).

c) In nouns formed according to 44, c, we notice the following variations: *Nza´mbi₊*, *nk,e'nge,,* a day; *nke'nto'*, woman; (Cf. 2 N. 71), *nga₊nga⁺*, medicine-man; *ya'ndi₊*, he (2 N. 31).

In a short root-syllable.

d) In nouns formed according to 44, d, we notice the following variations: *ka'la,,* *ma-*, coal; *to₊ko⁺*, a youth: *ku'tu⁺* (2 *N.* 1), ear; *nka´ta₊*, bosom.

47. In nouns whose stem begins with a vowel.

a) In nouns whose ultima is formd by a nasalized consonant, the ground-pitch varies as follows: *mw₊e´nge₊*, a fish; *mwe₊nge⁺*, the male flower of the palm.

b) In nouns whose ultima contains no nasalized consonant, we notice the following variations: *k,u´lu,,* leg; *kie⁺se*, joy; *mwe₊la⁺*, soul; *ki'la'* thing (2 *N.* 9).

Polysyllabic nouns have different variations of pitch and intonation according to their formation. See V.

Timbre and Pitch.

48. The pitch and the consonants exercise a strong influence upon the pronunciation of the vowels.

a) The high pitch always gives to the vowel *u* after *l* and to *i* after *t* the more close sound of *u̱* and *i̱*. Instead of *li̱*, *di* is used, and in dialects *di̱* or *ri̱*. When the pitch is low, *i̱* and *u̱* are slightly modified.

When the pitch is high in *u* and *i* after *d, n, s, y, z*, then *u̱* and *i̱* appear which are modified, when the pitch is low. In the case of high pitch *u̲* and *i̲* tend to become *u̱* and *i̱* after *b, f, k, m, ng, p, v*. When the pitch is low, they approach *o̱* and *e̱*.

b) The high pitch gives to *o̲* a more open pronunciation after *l, h, ng*. When the pitch is low, *o̲* is modified. When the pitch is high, *o̲* is not so open after *d, f, k, m, n, p, s, t, v, y z*. When the pitch is low, it approaches *o̱*.

After *b o* is a dull, hollow *o̱*, which is somewhat modified when the pitch is high and low.

c) The high pitch gives to *e̲* an open pronunciation after *f, l, m, n, t, z*. When the pitch is low, *e̲* is modified.

When the pitch is high, *e̲* tends to become *e̱* after *b, d, h, ng, v, s, p, y*. When the pitch is low, it is always *e̱*. In dialects *e̲* is very close after *k*. When final, *e* is, as a rule, *e̱* after *l*.

d) When the pitch is high, *e, i, o, u*, after a consonant, nasalized by a nasal prefix with *u*-quality, have a tendency to pass into *e̱, i̱, o̱, u̱*, modified according to the influence of the consonant: *nlo̱lo, mi-, < lo̲lo, ma-*. After *m*, and *n*, *o̲* generally becomes *o̱*: *mo̱na, mo̱ka*.

If the consonant is nasalized by a nasal prefix with *i*-quality, the pronunciation is generally *e̲, i̲, o̲, u̲*

e) When the pitch is high, *e̲* and *o̲* appear after *i*, preceded by any consonant. When the pitch is low, these vowels tend to become *e̱* and *o̱*.

When the pitch is high, we have *u̱* after *i* preceded by any consonant. When the pitch is low, *u̱* is somewhat modified.

I before a vowel in the stem is rendered by *y*, which retains its peculiar pronunciation before a long vowel. Before a short vowel it approaches the Swedish j: *yōka = iōka; yoka = joka*.

When *i* in dialects takes the place of the prefix *ki, bi, ni*, it often has the sound of *y*, which can be clearly pronounced: *wayizola*, he loved himself; *yinzu*, pots.

f) A vowel after *w* becomes *we̲ (we̱), wi̱, wo̲, wu̱*. When the pitch is low, also *we̱, wo̱*.

When *w* is preceded by *d, l, n, (s), y, z, i* has a closer pronunciation. In other cases it approaches *i̲*.

g) The semi-vowel *w* is either *w̲* or *ẇ*. When the pitch is high in *w* after *b, f, k, m, (p), v, w̲* tends to pass into *o̱* before *a, e, o*, but before *i w* becomes *u̲*. After *d, l, n, s, t, y, z, w* is pronounced *u̱* before *a, i, e, o*.

The semi-vowel *i* has almost the same character as *i*. Before *e* and *u* it becomes identical in sound with the Swedish j.

The influence of the semi-vowel on quantity and pitch is dealt with in 3. As for illustrations of the preceding rules, see 7.

49. Nasalized consonants in the root-syllables are of two kinds according to the *u*-quality or *i*-quality in the nasal prefix or the nasal pronoun. (See my Kongo grammar 7—9).

a) The nasal prefix and the nasal pronoun (third person singular) with *u*-quality has a clearer pronunciation and a fuller tone than the one with *i*-quality. The nasal is spoken through the nose, the consonant is pronounced more strongly, and the following vowel has a closer sound.

In dialects, where *h* is used instead of *v*, the nasal before *h* is almost inaudible, but the nasal-pitch remains: *n⁺hu'di, mi-,* larynx.

When the nasal prefix is used to form nouns which express the performer of the action indicated by the verb (nomina agentis), the nasal is more audible: *n⁺hu'di, mi-,* one that is rushing by < *hu'la*. See 110.

In personal pronouns *n* is also almost inaudible. *H* is pronounced through the nose: *na'n'ha⁺na₊*, I gave him; *na'ku⁺nha⁺na⁺*, I shall give him < *hā⁺na*.

The same rule is applied, when the nasal precedes *w* and *i*: *n⁺i'a*, the fourth, where *n* is almost inaudible; *n⁺we', mi-,* < *wa⁺*, to hear, but *nwe⁺* < *nwa⁺*, to drink; *ba'(n')wa⁺*, they heard him; *ba⁺n'nwa'ni⁺sa⁺*, they fought against him.

In dialects, where *y* is used, the class-prefix as well as the pronoun is *mu-*, often pronounced as the nasal. See *N.* 169. *M* and *n*, which in pronunciation coalesce with a following *m* and *n*, are pronounced long or double and can be doubled or written *m̄*, *n̄*, e. g. *m̄⁺o'ni* or *m⁺mo'ni*. Likewise words viz. *'n̄₊a₁* or *n'n₊a₁*, four 3 *N.* 10.

In dialects *ṅ* follows the same rule: *ṅoni* or *nṅoni, mi-,* < *ṅona*, to refuse.

b) The nasal prefix and the nasal pronoun (first person singular) with *i*-quality has a less clear pronunciation, provided the nasal has no special pitch, viz. *m⁺bu'*, mosquitoes. Often it has no distinct pitch, because it is pronounced in a gliding manner together with the root-syllable whose consonant is emphasized. This should be taken into consideration, e. g. in the genitive: *a"ntsa⁺fu⁺, zi-,* but: — *a'n"sa⁺fu⁺, mi-*. Cf. 2 *N.* 63, 67, 69.

The nasal is spoken through the mouth, *k*, *t*, *p* are aspirated,

the changeable consonants *v̲, l, m, n* (see grammar 8) are changed, *c, f, s, v, z* get an emphatic pronunciation. In dialects *s* is often intensified by *t: ts, tc; z* by *d: dz; f* by *p: pf; v* by *b: bv;* in dialects *γ* and *n* pass into *ng.* In the southern and central dialects the euphonic letter *g* is inserted after *w* and *y.* In the northern dialects the prefix *mu* is often changed to *ng* or *ṅ* before *w: ṅwana = mwana; ṅwini=mwini.*

The aspiration after *k, t, p* is particularly strong in dialects where *h* corresponds to *v̲.* When the pitch is high the aspiration is stronger than when it is low. It occurs in all kinds of nouns of the *m-, n-zi*-class, whether the nasal is indicated or not, whether the noun is reduplicated or formed in a different manner. These rules also apply to the nasal pronoun: *mpheni,* I have given.

In Mayombe and other dialects the nasal prefix and the pronoun with *i*-quality are often omitted. The pronunciation of the noun indicates the class. The nasal of the ultima is also often omitted: *khuki* or *khunki=nku'nki,* a hump.

Nasalized consonant of the ultima has not such a strong influence on its own pitch or accent, as it has on the preceding root-syllable. See 44, c, 46, c.

III. Pitch in Isolated Stems and Derivatives.

High Pitch.

50. The *high* pitch in the *root-syllable* of primitive words indicates emphasis and denotes a sound, a movement, an action etc. as loud, high, strong. See the examples in the following rules about high pitch.

The high pitch in the *ultima* indicates rise or increase of strength, power and performance. As for high prefix-pitch, see the rules.

The high *influenced* pitch (in connected speech) is of demonstrative character. It denotes:

a) a state of belonging to or depending on each other, e. g. in the genitive (see 81, 82), with prepositions (84), in pronouns: independent personal pronouns of the third person, combined subjective personal pronouns of the first and the second person, possessives, demonstratives, interrogatives;

b) an action as complete (perfect 96) and performed in a remote time (preterit 85, 86);

c) a question (103), a strong intention, a wish (conjunctive 91), a negation (negative mood 94), and sometimes the imperative (92).

d) a strong emphasis by the particle *na* (117).

51. The variations in the high ground-pitch are *high* pitch *(a')*, *low-high* pitch *(ˌa')*, *semi-high-high* pitch *(⁺a')*, *acute* pitch *(a´)*, and *semi-acute* pitch *(a'´)*. As for *grave* and *semi-grave* pitch in Bembe, see 58, 72, 73, 132 and 8 *N.*

The *very-high* pitch *(a")* is an influenced pitch very common in the genitive, with a preposition etc. Sometimes a word gets a very high pitch, when it is pronounced in a higher key. Cf. *Ma'-ki"tu"*, *N.* 19.

High root-pitch occurs in words with a falling or level intonation, semi-acute pitch in a level intonation, and the other variations in a falling intonation.

In dialects they are often pronounced with a gliding, descending or level tone. Cf. 2 *N.* 5, 13, 74, 100.

52. The high pitch in primitive words with a falling intonation occurs generally in a short root-syllable. The strong stress is on the root-syllable. As for words with a long root-syllable, see *infra* e, f.

With a Falling Intonation.

In a short root-syllable.

a) In dissyllabic nouns that have no other root-pitch. The prefix has a low pitch. The nasal prefix with *i*-quality generally follows the root-pitch. The ultima-pitch is low. All examples within brackets have a semi-low root-pitch and a semi-high ultima-pitch. Cf. *N.* 1—5; 2 *N.* 7, 8.

mfu'nu$_{\downarrow}$, *zi-*, chief.
mu$_{\downarrow}$*sa'ku*$_{\downarrow}$, *mi-*, calabash.
sula or *cuda*, *ma-*, electric fish.
ntumi, *mi-*, messenger.
nkisi, *mi-*, fetish.
nkobe, *zi-*, clamp, log.
Nkita, name of a fetish.
kala, *ma-*, coal.
fula, *ma-*, road, (*fu*$_{+}$*la*, to boil over).
bese, *ma-*, a braid of hair.
lubasa, *zim-*, arrow.
nkutu, *zi-*, bag.
nitu, *zi-*, body.
ntulu, *zi-*, chest.
ntete, the first, (*ntete*, *mi-*, basket of palm-leaves).
futa, *ma-*, menstruation, (*futa*, *bi-*, grass-jungle).
fulu, *bi-*, flower, (*fulu*, *bi-*, place).
nkosa, *mi-*, a sow that has brought forth.
ntima, *mi-*, heart.
ntima, *zi-*, midst.
nsitu, *mi-*, forest, (*nsitu*, *mi-*, seam).
busuku, evening.
kiwete, frog.
kiduka, a bird.
kumu, *ma-*, tune, (*kumu*, *ma-*, repute).
mpala, *zi-*, jealousy.

nkabi, zi-, antilope that eats *nkabi*.
nkabi, zi-, bean-leaf, (*nkabi*, one that divides <*ka₄ba*).
nkala, zi-, crab, (*nkala, mi-*, grave-mound).
vudu, ma-, hole, (*vudu, ki-, u-*, ravenousness).
kati, middle, midst.
mpidi, zi-, serpent, (*mpidi, zi-*, basket).
mfuku, smell, odour.
fuku, ma-, night, (*fuku, ma-*, cotton).
kiloko, bi-, thing.
lumbesi, (Be.) noon, twelve o'clock.
nkole, zi-, prisoner, (*nkole* or *mukole, mi-*, a carrying strap).
sala, salu, ma-, (My) a thing.
salu, bi-, work.
mbisa, ba-, (Be.) fish, (*mbi`sa, ma-*, (Be.) back).
sono, ma-, bi-, spot.
lusaba, nts-, seed of papaw.
diba, bi-, mushroom-bulb.
lusu, bi-, vomits <*luka*, to vomit.
ngazi, zi-, palm-nut.
nkaka, scaly ant-eater.
nseke, zi-, a savanna, distance.
bila, bi-, reason.
kuma, bi-, reason.
nkila, mi-, market-day.
mpika, mi-, market-day.
fuki, ki-, sluggishness.
kitadi, bi-, (dial.) iron, metal.
kitini, a morsel.
mpuku, zi-, rat, (*mpu`ku*, (Be.), a field for plantains).
ntoto, zi-, an animal.
ntoto, mi-, earth.
nsadi, zi-, stone for loading guns.
nsadi, mi-, spun cotton.

Note 1. When comparing the pitch in some of these words (as well as in words in several other rules) with the corresponding words in other dialects we find that some words have a somewhat fluctuating pitch. Some may also have the acute pitch which is noticeable only in connected speech and by comparison with words or roots in other dialects. Cf. 132.

In this case we notice *ku'tu*$^{+}$, pl. *ma'tu'*, ear. (2 *N.* 1, 2). *Nzi´la*$_{+}$, road; *ni´ma*$_{+}$, back; *nu´ni*, bird etc, which have an acute pitch with a falling or semi-acute pitch with a level intonation.

Ku'tu^{+} may have a special pitch on account of its formation < *ku' mu*$^{+}$*tu*$^{+}$, or *ku'n*$^{+}$*tu*$^{+}$ at the head. Cf. 2 *N.* 16, 21.

Note 2. Nouns formed by a prefix + a nasal follow the same rules as the monosyllables. See 53, a. Occasionally other prefixes are also higher than the root-syllable: *makala,* 2 *N.* 12.

Note 3. In the derivatives the root-pitch often falls to a semi-low and low pitch. Cf. 122—124.

di$_{+}$*nsu*$_{\text{l}}$*su*$_{\text{l}}$, *ma-*, a plant <*nsu'su*$_{\text{l}}$, fowl.
dimbuzu, a plant.
mu'nko$_{+}$*mbo*$_{\text{l}}$, a plant < *nk*$_{\text{l}}$*o'mbo*$_{\text{l}}$, goat.
mundele, mi-, a white man.
muntala ndabu, mi-, a nap.
tumvumvu, a plant.
ki$_{+}$*nto*$_{+}$*mbo*$_{\text{l}}$, ⁓ *yulu,* straight up in the air.

But from a verb with a semi-low root-pitch:

ki'nto$_{+}$*mbo*$^{+}$, a bird < *to*$_{+}$*mbuka,* jumping up and down.

b) In dissyllabic verbs that have no semi-low pitch. The ultima has a semi-low pitch. The examples within brackets have a semi-low root-pitch and a semi-high ultima-pitch. Cf. *N.* 6—9.

ke'ba$_{+}$, to keep, to preserve.
kaba, to wound, (*ka*$_{+}$*ba*$^{+}$, to divide).
lala, to float, (*lala,* to disappear).
toma, to be good, (*toma,* to compensate).
tuka, to abuse, (*tuka,* to pull up, about grass).
vila, to mix up, (*vila,* to lose).
vuba, to fire with powder, to wade, (*vuba,* to flee, to beat down the grass, Kyi.).
vuna, to drive a bargain, (*vuna,* to tell a lie).
vuna, to inflect, (*vuna, yuna*), to strip off the skin, to strip of the feathers of a fowl, Kyi.).
vola, to hold on to, (*vola,* to mash into a mass).
vola, to cool, (*vola,* to suck out blood etc.).
duba, doba, to stitch, (*duba, doba,* to stitch together. to sew).

kula, to grow, (*kula,* to tear away leaves etc.; *kula, ma-,* a rat).
sala, to work, (*sala,* to choose).
niaka, to scatter, (*niaka,* to be well).
tala, to see.
buta, to bear.
baka, to catch.
seba, to cut in pieces.
saka, to increase, (*saka,* to look for, to seek).
kela, to strain, (*kela,* to slander, to abuse).
kama, to squeeze.
vula, to come out, forth, (*vula,* to become big, stout).
dufa, dofa, dita, defa, to beat, to flog, (*defa,* to be filled, be soaked).
loba, to angel, (*loba,* to rub in, to smear, to dye).
loka nkome, to give a blow, (*loka,* to bewitch).
vwaka, to distort, (*vwaka,* to unite).
soka, to invent, to find out, (*soka,* to load a gun).
luka, to vomit, (*luka ndusi,* to give one's name to somebody).
sika, sika ngunga, to ring a bell, (*sika, cika.* (Mdz.) to decide, > *nsiku, mi-,* law > *sidika*).
kuka, to rob, (*kuka,* to be sufficient).
kala, to be, (*kala,* to deny).
kasa, to tie tight, (*kasa,* to grow thin, to chew).
kiba, to wound, (*kiba,* to wander).
kuba, to crow, to drive away, (*kuba, ma-,* bag).
bela, to lose, (*bela,* to hate, to detest).
koma, to nail, (*koma,* to fill up, to increase).
bata, to be shut up, bunged up > *batika.*
sula, to forge (iron etc.).
teka, to sell.
teka or *tēka,* to precede, (*teka,* to shine through, about sunshine).
kolo, (Be.), to be tired.

Note. In Mayombe and other dialects these verbs are pronounced with a long root-syllable, but they seem to retain their high pitch: *sā'la,* to work.

As for dissyllabic nouns derived from these verbs, see 53, c, *note.*

c) Tri- or polyssyllabic nouns, which are not derived from verbs and whose root-pitch is high, have the same pitch in all syl-

ables except the ultima, which is semi-low and has an equally strong stress as the root-syllable. Cf. *N.* 10, 11. If they are derived from verbs, the ultima retains its high pitch. Cf. 53, c.

Some of these nouns are also pronounced with a semi-high ground-pitch. *N.* 58, 59.

zó'bo'ngó+, *ma-*, an antilope.
nsambodia or *nsambwádi*, seven. Cf. 3 *N.* 13, 22.
sambanu, six. Cf. 3 *N.* 12, 21.
sambodia, *bi-*, palm-nut.
simani, *bi-*, a kind of red beans.
Kubungu, a fetish.
dukula, *bi-*, shirt.
nsengele, *mi-*, blade of knife without handle, (*nse+nge+le+* gravel).
muntalazi, *mi-*, brim, border, verge.
nkenzengele, *zi-*, ankle, a winding plant.
ntundibila, *mi-*, a plant.
mukenzebele, a plant.
munsakala, a kind of ants.
nkongolo, *zi-*, big pea-nut.
nkongolo, *mi-*, height of an animal, *N.* 58.
ntubungu, a clinging plant.
nkumbula, *zi-*, stone, hail for loading guns.
viakasa, leaves that are used as sand-paper.
nzangabala, great length.
bimbululu, gnat or small black fly.
kukula, *di-*, (Mdz), a priest's quality of eating ravenously.
mulunguri, *mi-*, (Be.), an insect.
niumbula, *zi-*, a bee.
benono, *bi-*, breast-part of a pig.
mpukula, *zi-*, echo, resound.
kongoto, (Be.) hardness.
nkeneke, *ma-*, (Be.), vertebra.
mpanana, *ma-*, (Be.) large calabash.
mboloko, *ma-*, native chair made of branches.

d) In some pronouns and adverbs:

na'ni+, who.
kaka, only.
tulu paku, rapid.

In a long root-syllable.

e) In words which in dialects have a high pitch instead of the low-high one, and in words which do not retain the high level intonation. They are then usually pronounced with a descending tone. Cf. 53 and 54.

n,ku'mbu,, *zi-*, name, *N.* 39.
n'-za'nza,, *mi-*, plateau, 2 *N.* 74.
ku'mi+, ten. 2 *N.* 100.

f) In some dissyllabic nouns, pronouns, numerals and adverbs, which are often pronounced somewhat lower, or with a semi-high pitch on account of the tendency to lower instead of retaining the high pitch. The nasal in *nle'ke+* has together with the root-syllable slightly rising pitch. Cf. 2 *N.* 76.

lutē'te+, pumpkin seed.
lumoso, left-handedness.
a'mi+, *aku, andi,* etc. my, thy, his, her, 2 *N.* 39.
lusoso, (Be) nail.
diaka, again.
nana, nothing.
nako, perhaps.

Words of this formation often have acute pitch. Cf. 57.

With a Level Intonation.

53. The high pitch in primitive words with a level intonation generally occurs in monosyllables and in dissyllables with a long root-syllable. As for derivatives, see the rules *infra.*

a) In monosyllabic nouns, pronouns, adverbs, prepositions with or without a semi-vowel, provided they are not pronounced with a semi-high pitch. The prefix has a semi-high pitch. Cf. *N.* 12—18.

ba', *ma-*, palm.
sa, bi-, pot.
ta, gun.
vwa, nine, 3 *N.* 15, 24.
na, na'ni,, who.
na, four, 3 *N.* 10, 19.
nga or *munga,* person, 7 *N.* 21.
mvu, mi-, year.
nto, corner, a spring.
luba, pl. *mba* (dial.) palm-nut < *ba*, palm.
nsa, mi-, poison, 2 *N.* 48, 49.
nsa, *ntsa, zi-,* acidity.

mbu, zi-, (dial.) thigh, leg.
nzo, zi-, house.
nti, mi-, tree.
nza, mi-, pride, 2 *N.* 48, 49.
nza, zi-, country.
lubu pl. *mbu, zi-,* gnat, mosquito.
luzi, pl. *nzi,* a bean.
mpa, new.
nkwa, mi-, rim (on a canoe).
nkwa, mi-, person, 2 *N.* 56.
fu, bi-, custom.
se, ma-, father.
kwa, bi-, potato, (*kwa,* how many, 2 *N.* 55).
mbwa, zi-, dog.
luve, tu-, permission, leave.
luke, tu-, red cloth.
luhu, good taste.
luse, tu-, face.
luto, zin-, spoon.
ta, bi-, expensiveness.
bu, ma-, papyrus.
ŋia, ma-, field.
lufwa, zim-, thorn, but: — *lufwa*$^{+}$ <*fwa*$^{+}$, to die.
kia, bia, (dial.) stumbling, (*kia*$^{+}$, to dawn).
nde, (Be.) he.
au, their, 2 *N.* 40.
bo, (Be.) they.
va, ku, mu, kwa, sa, (Be.), on, to, in.

In relative pronouns and adverbs:

yi-, ki-, bi-, etc.

In the genitive mark *a.*
In the preterit and perfect tense-vowel *a.*
In the particle *na.*
Figures of spech:

zu$^{\prime}$, *zu*$^{\prime}$, *zu*$^{\prime}$, the jumping of a frog.
zo, full to the brim.
kwo-kwo, sound of cutting.
pia, forbidden.
za-za, sound of a rattle.

Examples with the particle *na:*

na$^{\prime}$*bu*$^{\prime}$, *na*$^{\prime}$*ke*$^{\prime}$, early, or *na*$^{\prime\prime}$*bu*$^{\prime}$.

nade, creaking sound.
nasiu, quick.
nanza, sound of a rattle, *N.* 137.
napo, squab! sound of splashing, dashing.
nabe, breaking to pieces.

Note 1. Many of these monosyllables are very difficult to distinguish from other monosyllables, which usually have a semi-high pitch or an accute pitch instead of the semi-low pitch. The exact pitch appears in the derivatives and in connected speech. Cf. 2 *N.* 48 and 49, 54 and 55, 50, 51 and 52, 53.

Note 2. In dialects where the simple prefixes still remain, the ground-pitch may be retained or not. The prefix sometimes has a high pitch with strong secondary stress, and the ground-pitch is then falling to a semi-high pitch: *ki'na⁺, kito, N.* 60, 62; *sa'* or *ki'⁻sa',* pot, 2 *N.* 50, 51. Cf. *ba, kiba,* stinger 2 *N.* 52, 53.

Kiba, stinger, *kisa,* pot, *diba,* palm, *kisu,* pipe, *kito,* leg, *kina.* year, have all in the Kingoyi dialect a semi-high root-pitch and a high prefix-pitch, but *kisa, diba,* and *kito* have in the genitive a lower root-pitch than the other nouns and consequently follow the rules for words with a high ground-pitch, whereas the others agree with those with a semi-low ground-pitch.

The prefix sometimes has so strong a stress that it forms a new word: *ta',* gun, *bu'ta⁺,* pl. *ma⁺bu'ta₊, N.* 17, 18.

Note 3. When nouns are formed by prefix + nasal, the prefix has strong secondary stress and a higher pitch. The ground-pitch is then falling to a semi-high or semi-low pitch: *ki'mpa₊,* a game; *di'mpa₊,* bread; *ki'mfio₊,* craw. In dialects also *ki⁺mfio'.*

Note 4. The root of verbs with or without *na* are often used as figures of spech where the figurative sense is expressed by a high or low pitch, by a falling or rising intonation, by a single or combined pitch, and so on. Cf. 74, 117.

b) In dissyllabic nouns derived from verbs with a high or semi-high root-pitch, which is often raised to a very high or high pitch in order to denote a special signification, names etc. Cf. *N.* 19, 24—26.

Maki"tu", a name < *ki'tumuka,* to rush along.
Ma₊so'la', a name < *sō⁺la,* to choose.
Makola, Mahioka, Masala, Bitolo, Mahiola, Mpuya, names.
nkwezi, mi-, ba-, parents-in-law < *kwe⁺la,* to marry.
ndutu, zi-, a gnawer < *dū⁺ta,* to gnaw.
bala, ma-, scale of fish < *bāla,* to be hard.

nsuka, nsiuka, mi-, morning < *suka, siuka.* to permeat (about light).
Luvala, a river < *wala, walumuka,* to flow.
meme, ma- sheep < *meka,* to bleat.
kutu, ma-, bump on a tree < *kutuka,* to be crooked.
ndia, mi-, intestines, *ndia*$^{+}$, eating < *dia,* Cf. 110, a.
diadia, ma-, elephant-grass, an eagle < *dia.*
kumi, ten, is often pronounced with this pitch, 2 *N.* 100.

Note. In dialects where *nkwezi, zi-,* brother-in law, is used instead of *nzadi,* it retains the semi-high root-pitch and has a slight rise in the ultima, so as to distingish its meaning. The nasal has *i*-quality and no audible pitch.

c) In trisyllabic nouns derived from verbs with a high root-pitch.

ka'nga'la', ma-, meat-fly < *ka'ngala,* to wander.
nsokusa, ba-, weaver-bird < *sokusa,* to chatter.
ndulakani, zi-, a boil < *lulakana, lula,* to swell.
nkiduku, burning fiercely < *kidika.*
nsumuku, beating down < *sumika.*
yututu, soaked through < *yutumuka.*
kelolo, bi-, a filter, *nkedolo zi-,* straining < *kela,* to strain,
kebolo, bi-, magazine, store, *nkebolo,* protection < *keba.*
mfututu, u-, coolness, cloudy < *futumuka.*

Note. Dissyllabic nouns derived from the stem follow the intonation of the primitive verbs with the changes effected by derivation and prefixes: *n*$^{+}$*ke'bi*$_{\downarrow}$, *mi-,* protector, *nkhe'ba*$_{+}$, *zi,* protection; See 110—112.

d) In trisyllabic nouns, where the stem begins vith a vowel, and where the high pitch is retained in the ultima, which has strong secondary stress. The root-vowel is long or half-long. Cf. *N.* 27.

kiu'fu'ta', kiangala, perspiration.
mūbula, mi-, bark.
mūlulu or *mwelele,* (Be.) nose-bleeding.
miekese, mi-, whiskers.
mwangala, mi-, pain.
kiengele, fraud.
kiakala, kiakasa, evil smell.
mwalala, mwelele, (Be.) *mi-,* pillworm.
lwezizi, moonlight.

In quadrisyllables the ultima is falling: *mwa'la'ka'zi*$_+$, a winding plant; *miadikila,* sufferings.

e) Verbs derived from verbs with a high or a low-high root-pitch retain a level high pitch in all syllables. The examples within brackets have a semi-low pitch except in the ultima, which is high. Cf. *N.* 30—34.

bú'di'ká', to break.
yidika, to put in order.
sumika, to beat down, (*sumika,* to suck out).
tatula, to part.
telama, to stand.
kukula, to drag along.
vonuna, to thread a needle, (*vonuna,* to pout, to jest).
vabuka, break off a piece.
besika, to flatten.
vilula, -uka, to pass quickly, (*vilula,* to stir).
komangana, to thrust together.
dafa, dafanga, to eat ravenously.
fututa, to fetch water in a calabash.
kukuba, to drink.
viekita, to tie hard, (*vekita,* to verdure).
vutuba, to drink.
vunguta, to mumble, to mutter.
vobula, to make a hole.
kwalata, to scratch.
dumuna, to pull up, (*dumuna,* to cause to jump).
kwabula, to shut up a trap, (*kwabula,* to slash in one cut).
vukumuna, to tempt, (*vukumuna,* to blow away, leaves etc.).
konkuta, to knock.
tombuka, to dart out, (*tombuka,* to ascend).
tumbula, to kick, to fling away, (*tumbula mambu,* not willing to listen, to obey).
bombulukuta, to rattle.

Low-High Pitch.

54. The low-high pitch (*a'*) is gradually rising from a low to a high pitch. It occurs in long root-syllables followed by a nasalized consonant in the ultima. The pitch is descending to a low pitch in the ultima.

Its influenced pitch follows the same rules as that of the high pitch.

It occurs in the following cases:

a) In dissyllabic nouns whose root-syllable is long and followed by a nasalized consonant, if they are not pronounced with a semi-low or acute pitch. Prefix and ultima have a low pitch. The prefixes are very short. The examples within brackets have a semi-low root-pitch. Cf. *N.* 35—38.

v̲ɪe'mbo$_{1}$, *ma-*, shoulder.
banda, di-, down below, (*ba*$_{+}$*nda*, to strike, to hit).
kandu, bi-, means of protection from *nkisi* (fetish). But: — (*ka*$_{+}$*ndu, bi-*, < *ka*$_{+}$*nda*, not to wish any more).
N̄anga, a clan, (*n̄anga, mi-*, a slave).
vunga, ma-, blanket, (*vunga, ki-*, plague, sickness).
ndungu, zi-, pepper, (*ndungu, zi-*, drum).
Kongo, di-, Kongo.
yangi, ma-, joy.
nkungu, zi-, conversation, chat.
nkungi, zi-, festival.
nsunga, zi-, tobacco.
nkanda, mi-, book.
nkombo, zi-, goat, great chief (Be.).
nkondo, mi-, the baobab-tree.
mulongi, the papaw-tree (Kyi.).
nenga, ma-, aside, (*n̄enga*, mi-, nit).
vumba, ma-, smell, scent, (*v̲umba, ma-*, unripe fruit of nsafu).
longo, bi-, or *nlongo* in dial., medicine, (*longo*, ma-, marriage, *nlongo, mi-*, tabu).
nsingu, zi-, neck.
mpanda, zi-, wood.
sangu, ma-, maize, corn.
lusinga, zin-, fiber of palm (*nsinga, mi-*, string, winding plant).
benga, bi-, kimenga, frying pan, (*benga, yenga, ma-*, ravine).
mpunga, zi-, a plant.
(ki)fundu, stomachal cavity, (*fundu, ma-*, funeral present).
mbungu, zi-, mug.
ntumbu, mi-, calabash.
vimbu, ma-, stem, trunk, stock.
lusambu, compassion, (*lusambu*, corner of a loin-cloth etc.).
vundi, ma-, a turf of grass.
mvumvu, zi-, sediments of wine etc.
lulembe, zind-, blade of maize.
nlembo, mi-, finger.

lembo, bi-, fish-trap.
bunda, ma-, thigh.
lembe, ma-, pelican.
kamba, ma-, door-sill; *kambama*, travers, crosswise.
bonzo ma-, medicinal leaf.
mphumbu, ma-, (Be.) a lot, a number of people.
nkwanga, zi-, fathom (measure).
nkingi, zi-, throat.
nongo-, zi-, ma-, needle.
nsengi, ba-, monkey.
mbangi, ba-, witness.
muhondi, mi-, stem of mushroom, piece of wood beneath the gun-barrel (Be.).
mukonzi, mi-, drum of wood.
mbanda, zi-, ma-, (Be.) maize-pudding, (*mbandu*, ma-, mash of pea-nuts).
nganda, zi-, polygamy.
nienze, ba-, cricket.
nsanga, mi-, bewitchery, bad luck in hunting.
mukindi, mi-, stamping with the foot on the ground.
idumba, bi-, wooden block to sit on (Be.).
lusangi, nts-, (Be.) seed of the papaw-fruit.
mbemba, ba-, sea-eagle, (*bembe, ma-*, pigeon, dove).
tongo, bi-, meat, (Be.)
lenge, ma-, grass (Be.), (*lenge, ma-*, pumpkin).
kiyindi, gun-stock (Be.).
ntangu, zi-, sun.
kilangi, bi-, trunk of elephant (Be.).
mpamba, without cause, wrongly.
bukonzo, a market day.
nkenge, a market day.
tomvi, brain,
nkumbu, mi-, time, (in dial. also *nkumbu*, generation, harvest).
mubungi, mi-, fog, (*bungu, ma-*, a red light, reflection of a fire in the sky).
luntsende, ma-, (Be.) thorn.
vungu, ma-, horn.
malembe, peace, adv. softly, gently.
nkamba, leka nkamba, to sleep undisturbed.
bongo, ma-, knee, (*bongo*, lizard Be.).

lukombo, nk-, plate (Be.).
bakongo, Kongo-people, (*bakongo*, hunters).
idzanga, bi-, bag, cartridge-box (Be.).
singa, ma-, net for catching animals (Be.).
nyanza, qualm.
hende, ma-, chickens etc. paid as advance money.
kihangu, bi-, a yoke.
bufuntsa, bu-, laziness, idleness (Be.).
kidundu, ⁀ *a, bi-*, an island, hillock (Be.).
kidingi, ⁀ *a, bi-*, load in general.
bunda, ma-, a crowd, a gathering of people (Be.).
bilundi, name for a kind of cloth.
musimba, mi-, wild-cat.
mbanza, zi-, town; larva with stinging hair.
lengwa, bi-, scab.
wanga, simple-minded or dull person,
mbongo, zi-, cloth of bast, vegetables, (*mbongo*, corn, grain, sowing-seed).
nzenze, ba-, nzenzala, stranger.
luvambu, mpambu, chain.
mpanga, zi-, thorn.
mpangi, zi-, brother.
muhondo, mi-, nerve in the plantain-leaf.
mulenge, mi-, hair of the head.
ndingi, kidinga, stagnant water, pond < $d^{+}i^{\downarrow}nga_{+}$, to remain (about water).
tubumba, tu-, potter's clay.

Note. In dialects a few of these nouns are pronounced with a short root-syllable and some are not pronounced with a rising root-pitch: *nku*$^{\downarrow}$*mbu*, *N.* 39. A few may take the acute pitch, if the original root-pitch is semi-low. Nouns derived from the corresponding verbs (See 55) seem to have a low-semi-high pitch: *lus*$_{\downarrow}$*a*$^{+}$*mbu*$_{\downarrow}$ (*N.* 79) < $s^{+}a^{\downarrow}mba$.

With short root-syllables.

mumpandi, mi-, a plait of hair.
munkanda, mi-, falling down.
zinga, bi-, pond.
kifunda, bi-, (Be.) stomach.
kalunga, interj. yes.
longo, conj. that, so that.

ntsinsa, noon.
ntumbu, at once.
kilembe nzaku, (Be.) a tree.
tsina or *tsinda, ma-,* (Be.) a knoll of grass.
mukonyi, fishing-trap.
mungongo, spine.
ndongi, (Be.) slave.
lumbu, bi-, day.

b) In dissyllabic nouns whose stem begins with a vowel which may, or may not, be the same as that of the prefix-vowel. Some are derivatives. The prefix and ultima have a low pitch. Other primitive words of this formation have the acute, semi-acute, or semi-low root-pitch. Cf. 57, b, 58, 69, d, 70, b.

mūla, mi-, bark.
kiuvu, bi-, question $<$ *yu'vula.*
kiemba, bi-, a trap $<$ *yemba.*
lwika, pl. *mika,* hair.
kianga, bi-, shelf $<$ *yaŋgama.*

Note. Some of these words have a semi-high pitch and no rising root-pitch, e. g. *kiese,* joy. *N.* 57, b.

Semi-high-High Pitch.

55. The semi-high-high pitch (*$^{+}$a'*) is gradually rising from a semi-high to a high pitch. It occurs only in verbs with long root-syllables followed by a nasalized consonant in the ultima. The ultima has a semi-low pitch. *N.* 43—46.

In derivatives the pitch loses its rising character and becomes a high-level pitch in all syllables. Occasionally they are pronounced with a semi-high pitch. Cf. *N.* 157, 158.

The verbs within brackets have a semi-low-semi-high root-pitch with a high ultima-pitch.

k^{+}a'nda$_{+}$, to keep back the rain, to protect by charm.
kanda, to strike, (*kanda,* to dig up).
yamba, to buy cheaply, (*yamba,* to cry, about children).
songa, to show, (*songa,* to be right).
lwenga, to be cunning, (*lwenga,* to cut off evenly).
bomba, to comfort, (*bomba,* to rotten).
lamba, to cook food, (*lamba,* to stretch oneself out on length).
kenga, to walk about, (*kenga,* to keep watch, to guard).
kamba, to intercept, (*kamba,* to command).

kwanga, to cut, to saw down a tree, (*kwanga*, casava-bread).
nanga, to linger, to tarry.
tunda, to be celebrated, (*tunda,* to peel, to pare).
ŋinda, to sink, (*ŋinda,* to stir in a pot).
ŋinga, to wait on, (*ŋinga,* to change, to succeed).
ŋanza, to be stuck up, (*ŋanza,* to tear up by the teeth).
fumba, to inflect.
tumba, to lay up mounds of earth on the grass for cultivation purposes.
zunga, to walk round.
zenga, to walk round, (*zenga,* to cut off, in dialects also *ze'nga*).
sensa, to cut off.
sunga, to take aim.
tanga, to read.
tonda, to love.
tunga, to build.
konga, to pick fruit, (Kyi.); (*konga*, to grow thin, Kyi.).
tsunga, to walk slowly like a chameleon (Be.).
funga, to play (Be.).
ŋanda, to make a fetish.
kemba, to praise.
kunga, to groan, to wail.
binga, to light fire.
wunga, to whisper, to rustle.
banda, to drive in a nail, to beat down, (*banda,* to begin a song, to fix a day, to box someone's ears)
tsunda, to speak much, idle talk, to gossip.

Note 1. Some of these verbs may also be pronounced with a high root-pitch, e. g. *kwa'nga*$_{+}$, and with a low ultima-pitch, e. g. *w*$^{+}$*u'nga*$_{1}$, *N.* 46, 45.

Note. 2. Dissyllabic nouns derived from the stem, have the same intonation as the verbs with the changes effected by derivation and prefixes: *nk*$^{+}$*o'mbi*$_{1}$, *mi-,* sweeper; *nko'mba*$_{+}$, act of sweeping; *luko'ndo'*, hook < *ko'ndika,* See 110—112.

Polysyllables have the same pitch in all syllables: *nko'mbo'lo'*. See V.

Acute Pitch.

56. The acute pitch (*a'*) is properly a psychologically and grammatically influenced pitch corresponding to the semi-low or grave pitch, which occurs in Bembe and other northern dialects.

The pitch retains its rising character in primitive nouns with a long root-syllable followed by a nasalized consonant in the ultima. The ultima has a semi-low pitch and somewhat stronger stress than the ultima with a low pitch.

If the root-pitch has lost its rising character, the ultima pitch becomes low.

In new stems the prefix- and the ultima-pitch vary somewhat. Cf. *N.* 50—56. As for the acute pitch in inflection and derivation, see IV and V.

57. The acute pitch occurs in the following cases.

With a Rising Root-pitch.

a) In dissyllabic nouns with a long root-syllable followed by a nasalized consonant in the ultima, provided they are not pronounced with a low-high or a semi-low root-pitch. The prefixes have a semi-high or semi-low pitch. Cf. *N.* 47, 48.

Nz⁺a'mbi₊, *zi-*, God.
Nsonde, *zi-*, a fetish.
nyimbi, *mi-*, a kind of plantain.
yimba or *bimbi*, *ma-*, a kind of plantain.
nkunki, *zi-*, hump.
Kindamba, a clan.
ndingi, *mi-*, copal, (*ndi₊ngi*, crying).
kanda, *ma-*, paw, *ka'nda₊zi₊*, the palm of the hand.
(*ka₊nda*, *ma-*, family, *ka⁺n'da₊*, *ki-*, the quality of being able to hold the rain).
nlunga, *mi-*, ring.
lutembe, *zin-*, a layer of grass.
mbundu, *zi-*, poison, (*mbu₊ndu⁺*, *zi-*, a turf of grass, *mb₁u'ndu₁*, quantity of something).
ndimba, *zi-*, a red stone.
ndimba, a snake, probably < *di₊mba*, to listen, (*nd₁i'mba₁*, valley).
nsongi, *zi-*, a point > *so₊ngula*, (*ns₁o'ngi*, *zi-*, a bird).
nsansi, *zi-*, a rattle.
langa, *ma-*, liver.
ndambu, *zi-*, edge of a wood < *la₊mba*, to stretch out, (*nda₊mbu*, *zi-*, a half, resin for drums etc.).
zengi, frontispiece, (*z₁e'ngi₁*, stupidness).
dimbu, *bu-*, a kind of resin, (*di₊mbu*, *bi-*, sign).

ndumba, zi-, a maid, virgin, (*ndu₊mba, zi-,* meconium).
nkanka zi-, a fish with prickles, (*nk₁a'nka₁,* a striped squirrel).
yanga, zanga, ma-, a pond.
mpumpa, celibacy.
nlungu, ma-, mi-, (dial.) canoe.
funda, zunda, ma-, one thousand.
ntanga, mi-, fibula.
nzumba, mi-, a deep brooklet, ravine.
tambi-, bi-, foot, footprint < *ta₊mba,* to pace, (*t⁺a'mbi₊, bi-,* trapper < *t⁺a'mba₊,* to trap).
mbinda, zi-, calabash.
ntumba, ba-, (Be.) virgin, (*nt₁u'mba, ma-,* (Be.) hole, mouse-hole).
samba, ma-, razor.

Note. In dialects some words are pronounced short or without rising tone: *dinkanda, ma-, kanda, N.* 55, 50.

b) In dissyllabic nouns whose stem begins with a vowel which has a low-high or low-semi-high pitch. Cf. *N.* 49, a—49, f. As for words of the same formation and their pitch, see 54, b, 58, 69, d, 70, b.

k₁u'lu₁, pl. *malu,* leg.
disu, pl. *meso,* eye.
dinu, pl. *meno,* tooth.
diki, pl. *meki,* egg.
lweka, pl. *tweka,* side.
kiumbu, bi-, ring.
mwelo, mi-, door-way.
kielo, bi-, door.
buma, bu-, an action, performance.
mumbu, mi-, enclosure.
lwinda, mwinda, mi-, candle, lamp.
mwamba, mi-, mash of pea-nuts.
kiamba, ki-, thickness, about oil.
kiazi, bi-, bunch of palm-nuts.
mwivi, mi-, thief.
kini, ki-, shadow.
mwala, mi-, mouse-track.
mwini, pl. *mini,* sunshine.
luvu, tu-, smithy, (*Lu'vu,* a river).
mazi, fat, grease, lard.
lwabi, pl. *ndwabi,* carrying-strap.
mwene, (in dial.) chief.
mwaya, mwaha, to yawn.

Note. In dialects some of these words are pronounced with the semi-acute pitch, eg. *wi'si*^{1} or *wi'si*$_{+}$.

With a Level Root-pitch.

c) In words which have the grave pitch characteristic of northern dialects. The prefix has a semi-high and the ultima a semi-low pitch. *N.* 54—56.

Words with a long root-syllable:

bwā'ta$_{+}$, *ma-*, air-bladder.
mbwata, zi-, bottle.
dede, bi-, earth-flea, jigger.
mbele, zi-, knife.
tata, father.
bwatu, ma-, canoe.
beto, we, *beno*, you.

Other words, e. g. *mama*, mother; *titi*, grass; *ingi*, many, are as a rule pronounced with an acute pitch.

Words with a short root-syllable:

nsala, mi-, crawfish, (*nsa'la, zi-*, feather).
mungizi, mi-, a stripe.
kimpete, bi-, a fish.
ntama, adv. long ago.
nkazi, ba-, wife, (*nka*$_{+}$*zi, zi-*, brother). Cf. 132, c.

Note. Derived nouns follow the rules for words with a semi-low root-pitch: *mu*$_{+}$*ngi*$_{+}$*li*$_{+}$*si*$^{+}$, *mi-*, stripe < *mu*$_{+}$*ngi*$_{+}$*li*$^{+}$ or *mu*$_{+}$*ngi'li*$_{+}$.

d) In certain dissyllables and trisyllables derived from verbs with a semi-low root-pitch in order to express a different meaning from that of the verb. Several of these are, in dialects, pronounced according to the ground-pitch. *N.* 50—53.

mpo'di, zi-, a fetish for cupping < *vo*$_{+}$*la*, to suck out, but
mvo$_{+}$*di*$^{+}$, *mi-*, a person that sucks out blood, that is in the act of cupping.
nkwala, mat < *kwalumuka*, to be spread out.
mulonga, line, row < *longalakana*, to be in a line, file.
kiwanzi, tomato < *wanzuka*, to be clear.
ndombe, zi-, black < *lomba*, to darken, to blacken.
ziami, ma-, burial-ground < *ziama*, to bury.
vumi, ki-, reverence < *vumina*, to revere.
ndudi, zi-, bitterness < *lula*, to be bitter.
nkata, zi-, bosom, with one's legs crossed < *kata*, to lay, to bundle up.

nkanu, mi-, law-suit or trial, a crime < *kana,* to intend >
kani, ma-, slyness.
ndandu, zi-, gain < *landa,* follow after.
mpiuki, black < *piuka.*
mbwaki, red < *bwaka.*
bandu, bi-, beginning, reason < *banda,* to begin.
banza, ma-, a thought < *banza,* to think >
mbanzi, bu-, conj. though.
Ndu´ ndi+la+ or *Ndu+ndi+la'*, a name < *lu+nda'*, to keep, to hide.
ntekolo, ba-, grand-child < *te+kula* < *te+kuka,* (*nte'ko'lo'*, a sale, auction < *te'ka+,* to sell).
pokila, ma-, a small shot.
dukulu, ki-, shortness, (*du'ku'la+, bi-,* shirt).
nkiduku or *nki'´duku* (Kyi.) < *ki+dika,* but: — *nki'du'ku'* < *ki'dika tiya.*

As for the influenced acute pitch (*lu´ ndi+di+*), see IV.

Semi-acute Pitch.

58. The semi-acute pitch is a variety of the acute pitch, but it is devoid of its strong influence on the intonation in raising the pitch of the root and lowering the ultima. On the contrary it has a levelling influence on the intonation by raising the pitch of the ultima, replacing the acute pitch in words with a level intonation in order to distinguish the meaning of the word from similar words with the original semi-low pitch which tends to retain a level intonation.

As for the corresponding semi-grave pitch in a level intonation, see 73 and 8 *N.* 27.

The semi-acute and the semi-grave pitch have no special signs, but with regard to their changes in connected speech and to the different rules of the ground-pitch, it is of greatest importance to know whether the high pitch in a level intonation is the semi-acute pitch, which partakes of the original semi-low root-pitch, or if it is the original high-level root-pitch.

When it is necessary to denote the pitch, we mark it with two signs, so as to show its character: *a'´* or *a+`*, e. g. *nsu'´mu'ku'*, cupping-horn (*N.* 29); *ki'mpe+`te+*, a small fish (8 *N.* 27).

The semi-acute pitch occurs in dissyllables and trisyllables whose intonation is level and whose original root-pitch is semi-low. In dialects the ultima may fall one semitone (*nke'nto'¯*, 2 *N.* 71) and in emphasis the acute pitch appears in the pronounciation (*mo´no*). Cf. *N.* 20, 23, 28, 29, and 2 *N.* 4, 9, 98, 99.

a) *mukento*, *ba-*, woman. Cf. *mukieto* 132, c.
muvisi, smoke (*mvi´si*, 2 *N.* 11).
toso, brain.
bene, *ma-*, breast.
tutu, seldom.
beni, much (or ´). Cf. 3 *N.* 1, 2.
kila, thing (or ´ *N.* 42).
mono, (or ´), I.
ngeye, (or ´), you.
pele, no.
inga (or ´), yes.
ngeta, (or ´), yes.
mosi, *-ole*, *tatu*, *tanu*.
ntatu, *ntanu*, *mi-*.

b) *nsumuku*, *zi-*, cupping-horn $<su_{+}muka$, to suck out.
nkiduku, *zi-*, amulet $<ki_{+}dika$, to protect against.
muswaku, *mi-*, a fine $<swa_{+}ka$, to wash off.

As for numerals with a prefix, cf. 3 *N.*, 8 *N.*, 9 *N*, and for personal pronouns 8 *N.*, 9 *N.*

Semi-high Pitch.

59. The *semi-high* pitch (a^{+}) in the *root-syllable* of primitive words is of the same character as the high pitch. Nouns that do not retain the high pitch have a semi-high pitch with falling intonation which is also the case with the demonstrative pronouns etc.

The primitive verbs that have a semi-high pitch seem to be either monosyllables, compound verbs (see 61, d), or derivatives (61, c) with a level intonation. The semi-high pitch in these verbs denotes exactly as in the case of high pitch a sound, a movement, an action, a feeling etc. as loud, high, strong etc. Examples are given in the rules *infra*. Other primitive verbs of this formation have a rising intonation. See 69, a.

As *ultima*-pitch in verbs with a semi-low root-pitch it indicates an increase, a rise, and so on.

The semi-high *influenced* pitch is of a demonstrative character but not to the same extent as the high pitch. It is used instead of the high pitch in most cases, when the high pitch is influenced by another high and stronger pitch. Cf. IV.

The variations in the semi-high ground-pitch are *semi-high* pitch with a *falling, level* or *rising* intonation, and a *semi-low* or *low-semi-high* pitch with a *falling* intonation.

With a Falling Intonation.

60. Semi-high pitch occurs in words with a falling intonation: In some nouns whose root-syllable does not retain the high pitch (Cf. *N.* 58, 59) and in demonstrative pronouns and adverbs, which have a higher or lower tone to denote distance or nearness. Cf. 2 *N.* 108—116.

nkó⁺ngo⁺ló₁, zi-, height of an animal.
viakasa, ma-, leaves that are used as sand-paper.
diadi, biabi, kiau, zozo, zazizi, bababa.
kwaku, kwakuna.

With a Level Intonation.

61. Semi-high pitch in words with a level intonation occurs in the following cases.

a) In monosyllabic nouns whose prefix is pronounced with a higher pitch than the root. *N.* 60—62.

bu'ta⁺, gun. Cf. pl. *ma⁺ta' N.* 17, 18.
kina, season.
kiba, stinger.
kito, leg.

b) In monosyllabic nouns whose ground-pitch actually is semi-low but as monosyllables they are as a rule pronounced with a higher tone. The prefixes are often pronounced with a high pitch. Cf. 84, 85 and 2 *N.* 54, 55.

ko⁺, ma-, plantain, *di'nko⁺ > di'nko₄ndo⁺.*
ma, bi-, a thing.
ngo, zi-, leopard.
lo, bi-, sleeping-hour.
lo, ma-, town, large village.
mvu, zi-, hair.
mpia, mampia, finished, end, close.
mante, te, spittle.
muwo, mi-, shower of rain (Be.).
ko, bi-, sheaf.
kinko, wedge.
makwa, power (Be.).
bulse, sa, to come forth (Be.).
do, dodokolo, interj. at prayer.
kwa, how many,
nga, conj.

vo, if.
ve or *ve*$_+$, no.
wa, to be, *wena*.
ko, negation.
kio, *bio* a. o. of these pronouns.
mpe, too, likewise.
ya, *ye*, also.
mbo, since, then.
me or *me* > *meno*, I.
mo or *mo* > *mono*, I.

Figures of speech generally have semi-low pitch:

nzu$_+$, *nzu*$_+$*nzu*$_+$, muffled sound of hand clapping.
bwa, blinking < *bwa*$_+$*bula*.
pia, licking < *pia*$_+$*ta*.
pe, *kwa*, *wa*, sound of sweeping.

c) In monosyllabic verbs, though some of these are occasionally pronounced with a semi-low pitch. *N.* 142, 144, 146.

sa$^+$, to do.	*ta*, to say.
dia, to eat.	*fwa*, to die.
tia, to love.	*kia*, to begin to dawn.
vwa, to possess.	*va*, to give.
wa, to hear.	*vwa*, to finish.
bwa, to fall.	*twa*, to fasten, to bite.
sia, to tap palm-wine.	*nwa*, to drink.

Note. Dis- or polysyllables derived from these verbs have a long or half-long root-syllable and the same pitch: *fwi*$^+$*la*$^+$, *fwi*$^+$*dila* < *fwa*$^+$.

d) In dissyllabic verbs with a long root-syllable whose ultima is not formed by a nasalized consonant. Other verbs of the same formation are pronounced with a semi-low root-pitch. Cf. *N.* 66—71.

lū$^+$*lá*$^+$, to put, to lay.
kula, to redeem.
bela, to be sick.
seka, to lie on one's back.
paka, to cut an animal into pieces.
loka, *boka*, to scream.
kola, to pull up.
sila, to promise.
tisa, to cause to love.
zaka, to cut off.

sola, to choose.
bika, to leave off.
doka, to crackle.
buka, to spring up, to grow.
sala, to be left, (*sa₊la, mbo'te,* good-bye).
sika, to praise.
tana, to rob.
teka. to shine through, (*tē'ka,* to sell).
lala, to sleep, (*lā₊la,* to disappear).
leka, to sleep, (*le₊ka ntambu,* set a trap for).
leka minu, to believe.
tina, to flee.
weta, beta, to strike.
deka or *de₊ka,* to knock.
teta, to cut to pieces.
deba, teba, to crack pea-nuts.
duka, to explode, to grow up.
duna, to eat, to pull out.
voka, koka, to get loose, fall out, to fall away.
naka, daka tusevo, to roar with laughter, (*na₊ka,* to ascend).
tuka, to come from.
vila, to know well, (*vi₊la,* to border a mat; in dial. *nhi₊lu,* edge).
kuka, to shed (leaves etc.).
vioka, yoka, to pass by, (*yo₊ka,* to flee).
vula, to get rid of.
vuka, to be released, to be saved.

Note. In dialects where the ultima (e. g. Mz.) tends to be lowered, these words, as well as other words with a level intonation, have an ultima-pitch of one semitone lower.

e) In verbs whose root is lengthened by a semi-vowel provided that they are not pronounced with a rising intonation (62, b). These seem to be derived from monosyllabic verbs. *N.* 68, 69.

kwe⁺la, to marry.
twala, to bring.
swena, to drip.
twama, to precede, to walk before.
twila, to rear an animal for someone.
twika, to put on, to raise.
kwika, to put on a handle.

bwana, to meet.
nieka, bweka, to multiply.
kwana fumu, to draw a long puff.
biama, biala, to reign.
vwata, to dress, (*vwa₊ta*, to stir the water).
lweka, to wound, (*lwe'ka*„ tu-, side).
lwala, to be wounded.
siama, to be strong.

f) In verbs derived from other verbs which have a level semi-high root-pitch:

de⁺di⁺ta⁺, deduta, to smart, to have pain in stomach:
tudila, tudisa etc.

g) In a few nouns whose syllables have not retained the high pitch:

mu„di⁺ma⁺, midst, centre, *N.* 65.

With a Rising Intonation.

62. Semi-high pitch in words with a rising intonation occurs in verbs which are pronounced with a semi-high or semi-low-semi-high pitch. The ultima has a high pitch. Derivatives are pronounced with a semi-low pitch in all syllables except the ultima which is semi-high.

a) In verbs with a long root-syllable followed by a nasalized consonant, if they are not pronounced with a semi-high-high root-pitch. *N.* 72, 73, 75.

The examples within brackets have a semi high-high root-pitch and semi-low ultima-pitch.

l₊á⁺nda' or *la⁺ndá'*, to follow after.
kamba, to say.
kanga, to tie, to bind, (*k⁺a'nga₊*, to roast).
sinsa, to try.
zinga or *zinga*, to live long, (*zinga*, to roll in, to tie up).
londa, to mend.
dimba, to listen.
bonga, to take.
lomba, to grow dark, (*lomba*, to pray).
longa, to learn, to teach.
bunda, to put together.
lunda, to keep, to hide.
tanda, tanza a. o. to put in a row.

binda, to cross one's arms, (*binda*, to shut up).
manga, to refuse.
vwanda, to sit.
komba, to hollow out, (*komba*, to sweep).
dinga, to become silent, (*dinga*, to seek).
yanga, to have unlawful intercourse, (*ya'ngi*, *ma-*, joy < *ya'ngalala*).
yănga, to roast.
vwanza, to destroy.
vunda, to rest, (*vunda*, *ki-*, reverence).

Note. Nouns and verbs of this formation are in certain dialects pronounced with a short or half-long root-syllable.

kenga, to watch.
munkimbi, *mi-*, green cassava. (Bc.)
lenga, to plane, *lulengo*, plane, (*lenga*, to make haste).
lengila, to tarry, to linger.
lunga, to be sufficient, (*lunga*, to make fire).
bunga, to destroy.
danga; to reel.
vunga, to watch, to keep.
lamba, to stretch out.
zonga, to distribute.
lenda, to peel, to split, (*lenda*, to be able to).
lembwa, *lembo* to leave, not want to (*lembwa*, *lembo*, negative verb).
lembana, not be able to, (*lemba*, to do something well, to make another do things well).

b) In verbs whose stem is lengthened by a semi-vowel and whose ultima has no nasalized consonant. *N.* 74.

fie⁺lá', to scent, to find out something secret, mysterious.
zieta, to walk about.
diata, to tramp; (in dial.) to have a still-born child.
kwiza, to come.
bwata, to have a still-born child, (*bwa⁺ta⁺*, to close the eyes).
fwema, to get angry.
vwata, to stir, (*vwa⁺ta⁺*, to dress).
dwaba, *dweba*, *dweta*, to dance, to spin round and round.
swama to be hidden.
sweka, to hide.

tiana, tiaba nkuni, to gather fire-wood in the forest.
viveta, to ladle.
tiaka, to abuse.
nwana, to fight.
nwata, to be tattooed.
viota, miota, to swallow.
ziona, to snatch from.
piata, to lick.
piala, to deny.
piaka, to play a trick.
pieta, piota, piela, to tie up.

c) In nouns, whether they are derived or not, whose ground-pitch in dialects often is pronounced with a higher tone. Cf. 2 *N.* 14, 15, 79.

m'-bó⁺ngi', mi-, taker.
m'-bo⁺ngi', zi-, public house, house of the chief.
ndozi, zi-, dream.

For other examples, see 68, b etc.

Semi-low- or Low-Semi-high Pitch.

63. The semi-low or low-semi-high pitch ($_{l}a^{+}$) occurs in dissyllables with a falling intonation instead of the low-high pitch. Sometimes there is no rising tone. It occurs in some nouns derived from verbs with a high or semi-high-high ground-pitch: *lus$_{l}$a⁺mbu$_{l}$*. *N.* 79, *kie⁺se$_{l}$*, *N.* 57, b.

Semi-low Pitch.

64. The *semi-low* pitch *(a_{+})* in the *root-syllable* of primitive words indicates a sound, an action, a movement etc. not so loud or high or strong. Examples are given in the rules *infra.*

As *ultima*-pitch in verbs with a high root-pitch it indicates decrease, accomplishment. As for semi-low *prefix-pitch*, see the rules.

The semi-low *influenced* pitch denotes:

a) an action as uncertain (Present Indefinite, 89), subordinated, consecutive (Subjunctive and Future consecutive, 90). See the grammar 229, b.

b) a command (Imperative, 92), a negation (with the negative particle, 94, c).

c) future time (Future, 87).

d) emphasis in order to express a dull sound, a movement of brief duration, and so on.

Note. When the semi-low pitch as an influenced pitch is pronounced acute, it always becomes high or very high: *tu"ti+di+* <*tū+ta.*

65. The variations in the semi-low root pitch are:

a) *Semi-low* in words with a *rising* intonation, except in monosyllables.

In Kongo this pitch is as common as the high pitch.

b) In words with a *falling* intonation. It occurs in northern dialects and has a somewhat higher tone (sem -high pitch).

The semi-low pitch in words with a rising intonation has two variations:

a) one which is *nearly the same* as the ultima-pitch: *tū++ta*$^{+}$ (or c sharp-d) and occurs in a long root-syllable.

b) one which is *lower*, has no rising character and occurs in a short root-syllable: *ka+ba*$^{+}$.

With a Level Intionaton.

66. The semi-low pitch in words with a level intonation occurs only in some monosyllabic nouns, pronouns and adverbs which as a rule are pronounced with a semi-high pitch. For examples, cf. 61, b. Sometimes a monosyllabic verb and its derivatives also have a semi-low pitch: *ba+*, (*N.* 142, 143).

With a Rising Intonation.

67. All primitive words with a semi-low root-pitch have a rising intonation in Kongo. In Bembe and other dialects they always have the grave pitch and a falling intonation. The ultima in Kongo has a semi-high or high pitch and has also strong stress, if the root-syllable is not pronounced with a rising tone.

The prefix has a semi-low pitch except in nouns formed with a prefix + nasal, which are pronounced in dialects with a higher pitch: *mə'nte+*, *di'nko+ndo*$^{+}$. As for the influenced semi-low pitch, see IV, V.

In primitive Words whose Ultima has no nasalized Consonant.

In a short root-syllable.

68. Semi-low pitch occurs in short root-syllables in the following cases.

a) In some nouns containing two consecutive vowels of which the last one has a semi-high pitch.

nza₊u⁺ or *nza₊wu*⁺, *nza`ku* (Be.), elephant.
lau, ma-, happiness, (*la'u, bi-*, lunatic).
mbau. mbazu or *mba`ku*, fire.
bau, ki-, fire-ordeal, (*ba'u*, they).
pau or *mpahu. zi-*, half a fathom of cloth.

b) In dissyllabic nouns which are not formed by a nasalized consonant in the ultima, and which are not pronounced with a high or acute root-pitch. The prefix as a rule has the same pitch as the root. The ultima is strongly stressed. Cf. N. 87—91.

lo₊kó⁺, *ma-*, youth.
nioka or *nio´ka*,, *zi-*, snake, serpent.
ngulu, zi-, pig.
ngievo, ndevo, nzevo a. o., beard, chin.
nkaku, zi, shield < *ka₊ka*, to resist, to stand against.
sivu, ki-, dry season.
ngola, zi-, a fish.
ngolo, zi-, strength.
salu, ma-, fetish-bag.
mfula, zi-, gun-powder.
ngoma, zi, drum.
nkusu, zi-, parrot.
buka, bi-, place.
futa, bi-, grass-jungle.
saka, bi-, rat-trap.
dima, bi-, season, (*di'ma*, to bless).
nkuta, zi-, fear, dread, (*nku'ta, zi-*, travelling-lunch).
futu, ma-, fetish-bag.
zitu, bi-, a load.
mvila, zi-, family, house, clan.
tusevo, laughter.
mpoka, zi-, horn.
ntalu, zi-, price.
lamu, ma-, palm-wine.

tiya, tu-, gun-powder.
zoba, ki-, a dunce, blockhead, (*zo'ba nzonza*, to cause a quarrel).
kula, ma-, a rat.
fuka, ma-, strength, (*fu'ka*, to thatch).
vota, bi-, matter in the eye.
tuvi, excrements.
muyungi, mi-, ghost.
kuku, bi-, small termite-heap resembling mushroom.
nkuku zi-, termite, (*ku'ku, ma-*, stones for fireplace).
kitsuri, tsudi, bi-, a piece, a part (Be.)[1]).
utele, kia-, a very small piece (Be.).
mpisi, whosoever (Be.)
bolo, wolo, laziness, idleness.
manga, mi-, mango-tree, *manga*, mango-fruit.
lukosi, zin-, net-bag.
nkusi, mi-, wind from the stomach.
fulu, ma-, dunce, blockhead.
mpila, zi-, sort, kind.
luku, cassava-pudding.
nzitu, ba-, son-in-law, parents-in-law.
kala, ma-, scale (Mdz.).
mpidi, zi-, a basket, (*mpi'di, zi-*, a serpent).
kibeke, roasting-pan, part of a pan (Be.).
kikuba, an axe (Be.).
kinditi, diti, a musical instrument.
koko, ma-, servant, boy.
bunkita, fraud, cheating.
boyi, ma-, cock.
lolo, ma-, papaw (Be.).
ntsoki, zi-, a kind of grass.
nsoki, mi-, envy.
nusoki, mi-, road, path.
luntala, buzz, humming noise (Be.).
mafuku, scent (Be.).
kintidi, a kind of small cricket.
udelo, bulelu, slipperiness (Be.).
nzazi, ma-, lightning (Be.).

[1]) Words known in Be. are pronounced with the grave pitch in that dialect.

ntsolo, *ba-*, a bird.
mundilu mudila, *mi-*, mouse-track (Be.).
muwuba, *mi-*, blowing-pipe.
mpoko, *ma-*, horn (Be.).
vvaka, *vvakanga*, *bi-* (Ng.), fishing-gear that is pushed down into the water for catching fish.
kidima, season.
muhoko piki, bamboo-palm (Be.).
kolo, *ma-*, vertebra.

Note. Nouns formed with a prefix + nasal have a higher prefix-pitch with secondary stress. The intonation of the word then becomes falling rising. Cf. *N.* 92—95.

di'nko+ndo^{+} or *di'ko+*, pl. *mako*, plantain.
kintombo, a bird.
kinkuti, coat.
dinzanda, *ma-*, or *nzanda*, *mi-*, fringe.
kinzwiti, wantonness.
kintweka, hair left on the crown of the head from the forehead towards the neck after the sides have been shaved.

c) In verbs with a short root-syllable which is not pronounced with a high pitch and not followed by a nasalized consonant in the ultima. Cf. 52. b. Examples within brackets have a high root-pitch.

de+vá$^{+}$, to abuse.
dada, to drip.
nata, to carry.
tima, to dig, (*ti'ma*, *di-*, desire).
veta, to throw, to hunt.
tola, to sprout, (*tola*, to mention).
bola, to root.
kota, to walk in, (*kota*, *ma-*, an elderly person).
nana, to stretch, (*nana*, *ki-*, perseverance).
nuna, to grow old.
sana, to comb.
soma, to thread beads.
dila, to cry.
nama, to be sticky, *namu*, *u-*, stickiness.
seva, to laugh.
kila, to smear, to rub in.

kana, to intend.
kita, to trade.
sala, to choose (*sala*, to work).
sela, to gird up the loins.
nika, to grind, to mash.
kola, to be strong.
mona, to seek food, (*mona*, to see).
futa, to pay, (*futa*, to bathe a wound with water, ~ *ntima*, to get angry).
dema, to be heavy.
suka, to give a push, (*suka*, to finish, to close).
fula, to boil over, (*fula*, to flourish).
sula ngazi, to squeeze out palm-oil, (*sula*, to forge).
sada, to scatter around.
suna ngazi, to remove the pulp of the palm-nut, (*suna*, to follow an animal's track).
pala, *pula*, *puda*, *panga*, ~ *ye zitu*, to carry something reeling or swinging with difficulty.
popa, *papa*, to flap the wings, (*papa*, to pound, to crunch).
pata, to sell cheaply.
pama, to outbid (*pama*, to strike).
tunia, to be white.
zoba, *zoka*, to poke in, (*zoba*, to cause a quarrel).
deba, *leba*, to be soft, (*deba*, *leba*, to warn, to admonish; in dial. no difference in pitch).
zeba, to be soft, (*zeba*, to wander).
soba nteke, to stamp clay, (*soba*, to alternate).
lata, to steal (Kyi.).
kela, to slander.
kela, to shell pea-nuts, (*kela*, to strain).
wuka, to suck out (Mdz), (*wuka*, to snatch something away from somebody).
wena, to be, *weti*, *weka*, *widi*.
yika, to become.
yasa, to open the mouth.
kolo, to receive (Be.).
siba, to question a fetish.

The following words have also a short root-syllable.

vwaza, to mix up.
kweka, to creak.

kwaka, to saw < *nkwaka* a saw.
sampa, to flow over.
yimba, to grow richly, about hair, (*yimba*, to gather together).

Note. As for the intonation when the prefix *ku* is added, see 71.

d) Verbs derived from the above mentioned words retain the pitch in all syllables except in the ultima, which is semi-high or high. Sometimes these, as well as other words with a semi-low pitch, are pronounced in a higher tone. Cf. *N.* 115—118, 239, 240. Examples within brackets have a high root-pitch.

sú₊ku₊lá⁺ or *su⁺ku⁺lá'* to wash.
yitila, to pour out.
sekula, to pour into another vessel, to tap.
vilula, to stir, (*vilula*, to pass quickly).
zakala, to sit.
samuna, to communicate, to impart.
yaula, to scream.
yusula, to take away.
nikuna, to shake < *nika*, to grind.
zingila, to tarry, to linger < *zinga*, to remain, to abide.
zukunga, to splash.
vudunga, *sudinga*, to limp.
yebita, to get green.
yimita, to be pregnant.
yubata, to ooze out.
yukuta, to be quite satisfied.
zangata, to be glad.
ziabata, to walk in mud.
valaba, *valakata*, *valabata*, to climb up < *vala* > *kivala*, wood-lizard, (*va'la*, to carve).
tolula, to break off.
kwenia, to gnaw.
kwedinga, *kwedila*, to gnaw.
dwediba, to walk fast.
fwasabala, to rustle.
dukula, to pour out.
kidika, to protect the body with amulets etc. (*kidika*, to burn fiercely, to crackle in the fire).
fumfula, to stagger as an intoxicated person, (*fumfula*, to grope after),

vumvula, to clear with fire, (*vumvula,* to flee).
timbula, to reject a warning, (*timbula,* to chase off a thing).

e) In some trisyllabic or polysyllabic nouns, wether they are derived or not. The ultima is strongly stressed.

kio+to+tó+, dampness.
lwambatu, ma-, shelf (Kyi.).
ngongolo, pill-worm.
lukengizi, a sharp grass.
nsengele, nsengelele, nsengemene a. o., gravel, sand.
(nse'ngele, mi-, blade of knife without a handle).
nkalukutu, nkalukusu, denial < *ka+la,* to deny.
mbangala, a season.
(na)tundulu, puffy, expanded.
muhebula, breath.
kiekekele, or *koloko,* to be caught, to be jammed.
mbenzele, ma-, a bag of salt.
mayititi, mumps < *yi+talala.*

Note. Some of these nouns have also often an acute or semi-acute pitch. See 57, d and 58.

f) In some numerals, pronouns and adverbs often pronounced with an acute or semi-acute pitch. Cf. 58.

zo+le+, 2.
meno, mono, I.
vele, rather.
mbo, mboki, mbongi, mboko, bosi, after, since, afterwards.
nkutu, only, but.
kala, long ago.
kulu kiamakulu, once for all.
mbata, above.
mbazi, to-morrow.
mpele ko, although.
ngeta, yes.
pele, no.
yobo, thanks.
zuzi, the day before yesterday.
wena, weka, to be.

g) In the ultima of primitive words, in middle syllables of polysyllables and in influenced pitches according to the rules.

In a long root-syllable.

69. The semi-low pitch occurs in long root-syllables in the following cases:

a) In dissyllabic verbs with a long root-syllable which are not formed by a nasalized consonant in the ultima and not pronounced with a level intonation. Cf. 61, d. These verbs, contrary to the following verbs under b, are often pronounced with a rising or a somewhat higher root-pitch (c sharp-d). The ultima is strongly stressed. Cf. *N.* 105—109.

tu₊tá⁺, to crush, to beat.
kala, to return.
vuta, to wade.
vuta, to slobber up the soup.
sada, to scatter.
tita, to shake.
beba, to be tired.
sema, to glitter, to shine.
lama, to live long.
tuma, to shoot and miss, (*tu'ma*, to send).
buna, to stripe off.
kaza, to eat.
kata, to strike, to hit.
kama, to shiver.
yaya, to frizzle, (*ya'ya* to shriek).
kaka, to dig up sods, turfs.
noka or *nioka*, to be tired.
bama, to speak aloud.
baka, to prune a palm.
noka, to run, (*no'ka*, to rain).
v̲ev̲a, *pepe*, to fan, to waft (Be.).
v̲ota, *v̲ata*, to lade, to scoop.
v̲ona, *kona nzala*, to scratch with nails.
yeya, to get green.

Note. In dialects a few of these words are pronounced with a short root-syllable, but they retain their pitch: *tu₊ta*, *sada*.

b) Verbs and nouns derived from the verbs mentioned above and other verbs with a semi-low root-pitch, retain their pitch in all syllables except the ultima, which has a semi-high or high pitch:

kwi₊zi₊la⁺ < *kwi₊za.*
tiasuna, to tear to pieces.
ntu₊tulu < *tu₊ta,* to pound.
mumpo₊tila, pot < *ho₊ta.*
munte₊lula, pot < *te₊lula.*

c) In some nouns of the same formation as those under *supra a).* Words known i Be. have the grave pitch.

nswa₊lu⁺, mi-, rapidity.
fioti, darkness, about complexion.
beto or *be´to,* we.
beno or *be´no,* you.
mbazu, mbaku, fire (Be.)
nzaku, ba-, elephant (Be.).
mbasi, brother (Be.).
isoso, tala ⌒⌣, to stare at.
muyozi, whistling.
nsadi, nsiari, ma-, a bow.
mukoko, wooden bell to beat on.
kuku, bi-, lot, part (Be.).
kitoto, dessert banana (Be.), (*buto'to,* earth).
mutoto, basket (Be.).
nsiedi or *nsieri, ma-,* thatching (grass) for roof.
mputi-, ma-, big hole in a tree, (Be.).
nkokila, mi-, evening.
bwalu, to morrow (Kyi.).
ndolo. forward.

d) In nouns whose stem begins with a vowel. Cf. *N.* 111—114.

Some nouns may take the acute or semi-acute pitch. Cf. 57, b, 58.

kie₊lo⁺, bi-, great distance, (*kie´lo,* door).
mwela, mi-. breath, *mwe₊di₊la⁺,* dim.
kiela, bi-, loin.
bumi, ma-, a tree.
kiozi, coldness.
kieta, defect, maim.
mwila, mwidila, dim. brooklet.
kiama, kiema, greatness.
moyo, mwoyo, (Be.) life.
mwala, mi-, a kind of potato.
mwadi, mi-, cola-nut.
mūsu or *mwisi,* pl. *misi,* pounder.

kiodi, wickedness, (*kio´dia,* hoof).
loko, lu-, a mushroom.
kiamu, pepper.
lozi, lu-, shout of joy.
kina, pl. *bina,* ringworm.
mwina, mi-, commandment.
mwiku, mi-, spade.
mwaka, mi-, stinging bristle, (*mwa'ka, mi-,* season; *mwa'ka'la',* pl. *miakala,* bad odour).
kiavulu, door.
kiabulu, big mouth.
kiufu, bi-, torch of grass (Be.).
miemo, mi-, medicine-mixture.
mwete, mi-, (Be.) trap for animals.
mala, ma-, or *yila, mayila* (Be.), cassava-field.
mwasi, mi-, hole, opening.
maka, resin, gum.
mioso, (Be.), hair.

In primitive Words whose Ultima has nasalized Consonant.

70. a) In dissyllabic nouns with a long root-syllable followed by a nasalized consonant in the ultima. Other nouns have the acute or low-high root-pitch. Cf. 57, 54, a. The ultima is low and is strongly stressed. Cf. *N.* 101—104. Some are pronounced with a low root-pitch: *mu,lo,ngo*$^{+}$, *N.* 119.

nta$_{+}$ndú$^{+}$, *u-,* leaness, (*nt,a'ndu, ku-,* on the top).
nganga, fetish-priest.
konko, bi-, kinkonko, law.
nkondo, mi-, law, (*nk,o'ndo, mi-,* baobab-tree).
nlandu, u-, reward, (*nda´ndu, zi-,* gain, profit < *la$_{+}$nda,* to follow).
kumbi, ma-, steamer, a pattern on mats.
bikinda, grave, Hades < *ki$_{+}$ndama,* haul down into the grave.
mayimbi, a hawk.
nyembo, u-, happiness, luck.
mayembo, twitches of ecstasy.
longa, ma-, plate.
ngangu, zi-, sense, reason.
ngangula, ba-, smith.
ngonda, zi-, moon.
ngunga, zi-, bell.

nlangu, mi-, water.
nsambi, zi-, guitar.
lenge, ma-, pumpkin.
nlongo, mi-, tabu.
mpimpa, evening, night.
(ki)dimbu, bi-, sign, flag, (*di´mbu, bu-,* resin).
lamba. di-. time, rhythm, (*l⁺a'mba,* to cook).
nkandi or *nka´ndi, mi-,* palm-kernel.
lunga, bi, frying-pan.
ndundu, albino.
ngangala, mungangala, middle of a road.
Mulongo, a name, crowd.
mungingi, mi-, corncob.
mvumvu, ma-, fame.
ngongo, ma-, a kind of beans.
ngongo, palpitation of the heart.
ngongo ami, not to be willing.
mungongo, mi-, back-bone, spine.
lubanzi, zim-, side.
mbembo, zi-, voice, sound.
mulandu, mi-, mountain.
kimumba, a certain person, ghost.
lumfindi, an animal.
funda, ma-, pond.
nzanga, a kind of beans, (Be.).
kilombo, payment at a trial.
nzongo, ma-, spongy sore on feet (*ndadi,* Mz.).
Ibembe, Bembe-country.
ibamba, white man (Be.).
munanga, mi-, a rich venerable person (Be.).
mbongo, ma-, town-hall, shelter (Be.).
ntsanda, ma-, cloth generally, (*ntsa'nda, ma-,* a lung Be.)
ngombo, ba-, an ox.
ndangi, ma-, paddle (Be.).

b) In nouns whose stem begins with a vowel.
kia₊ndu⁺, chair.
mungwa, salt.
mongo, mountain.
muntu, pl. *bantu,* people, or *mutu,* pl. *batu.*
kiongo, something new, strange, about customs etc.
dianibu, pl. *mambu,* word.

kiambu, ngiambu, niambu, leave, permission < *ya₊mbula.*
kiemba, greatness, bigness, (*kie'mba,* a trap).
kienda, navel-string < *kwenda,* to go.
mwangu, beam, (*mwa'ngu,* quarrelsomeness).
kinzu, pot.
mwangula, something proper in size.
mwandazi, a fetish, a booming sound.
kianzu or *kianzunu,* a twig of a palm-nutbunch.
mwenge, mi-, male flower of palm.
kiombo, kiangu (Be.), female flower of palm.
lumbu, tu-, enclosure.

c) In nouns and verbs derived from other verbs of the same formation and with a rising intonation. *N.* 115, 118. Cf. 62.

ba₊ngu₊la', to explain.
tembila, to limp.
ngangula < *nganga,* witch-doctor.
tianguna mambu, to refuse, (*tia'nguna,* to walk like a duck).

d) In the ultima in some derivatives with rising intonation: *ki₁nte₁nda₁ngá₊.* Cf. *N.* 125.

With a Falling Intonation.

71. The semi-low pitch in verbs with a falling intonation becomes grave in Bembe and other northern dialects, but in Madzia the verb seems to retain its semi-low or low root-pitch, and get a very low ultima-pitch as in Teke, e. g. *use₁be₁₁,* to laugh. 7 *N.* 62.

It also occurs in verbs, whose stem began with a short vowel and had the semi-low root-pitch, but was subsequently lengthened by the addition of the prefix *ku.*

If these verbs begin with *y* and *ku* is added, the rising intonation is retained in some dialects.

kwi₊la₁, kwi⁺la₊, or *ku₊yi₊la⁺* (Kyi.) getting dark < *yi₊la.*
kwela < *yela,* to be ripe.
kwaba < *yaba,* to scoop, to steal.
kwiba < *yiba,* to steal.
kwambula < *yambula,* to leave off.
kūkuta < *yukuta,* to be satisfied.
kwama < *yama,* to suffer.
kwiya < *yiya,* to try.

Note 1. Kwe₊nda⁺, yenda, wenda, to go, and *kwi₊za⁺, yiza, wiza,* to come, retain their rising intonation in dialects.

Note 2. Verbs of the same formation with a high root-pitch seem to retain their pitch.

kūˈma$_+$ or *kuˈma*$^+$ < *yuˈma,* to dry.
kwimbila < *yimbila,* to sing.
kwadika < *yadika,* to sell.
kotila < *yotila,* to warm one self.

c) In the ultima of nouns and verbs with a higher root-pitch and occasionally in the penult, as appears from the rules for the ground-pitch and the influenced pitch: *Nsoˊnde*$_+$, *baˈka*$_+$, *kaˊbi*$_+$*di*$_+$.

Grave Pitch.[1])

72. The grave pitch (*a*ˋ) in Bembe (Cf. 26 and 132, b) corresponds to the acute and semi-low pitch in the central dialects. The grave pitch is a falling high-semi-high pitch in a long root-syllable, except in some numerals and pronouns where it is semi-high Cf. 132, c.

The grave pitch in primitive words in Be. occurs in the same cases as the acute, semi-acute and semi-low root-pitch in the central dialects. The grave influenced pitch is not fully investigated, but it seems to follow the rules for the acute pitch. Cf. 8 *N.* 71, 74.

a) In words corresponding to the acute pitch. Cf. 57. As for other examples, see 8 *N.*

Nzaˋmbi, God.
ntumba, ba-, virgin (*ndumba,* Mz.).
disu, eye.
mwana, child.
mwenge, male flower of palm.
tswangi, ma-, leaves for thatching roofs.
kibandu, quality of having the soul and ability of an animal
musyenga, a ragged, tattered cloth.
ngundu, ma-, a clearing, a new field.
mundamba, potter's clay.
kibangi, jaw.
bumbu, ma-, dust heap.
bemba, ma-, pigeon.
mabinda, tattooing.
kibenzi, long distance.

[1]) The grave and semi-grave pitch are inserted here on account of their connexion with the semi-low pitch.

mbēsi, ma-, knife.
tāta, father.
ngwari, francolin.
nkāri, ma-, merchandize.
kibari, a part.
musalu, mi-, crayfish.
inkanda, bi-, inner part of a palm-branch.
ndanda, indandi, following < *landa.*

b) In words corresponding to the semi-acute pitch. Cf. 58 and 8 *N.*

mukieto, ba-, woman.
bene, ma-, breast.
mulala, mi-, orange-tree.

c) In words corresponding to the semi-low pitch. Cf. 66—70, and the Bembe words in these rules (66—70), and in 8 *N.*

me, I.
we, thou, you.
nganga, ba-, medicine-man.
mbisa, ma-, back.
mpoko, ma-, horn.
nzazi, ba-, ma-, lightning.
mampa, water.
malu, palm-wine.
ku-landa, to follow.
ku-tūta, to crush.

Note. In the Ndingi dialect we have a small variation in the grave pitch, on account of the greater interval used in this dialect. Cf. 3 *N.* 26—29.

Semi-grave Pitch.

73. The semi-grave pitch in Bembe (Cf. 58 and 132, a) is a variety of the grave pitch and corresponds to the semi-acute pitch in the central dialects. It has a levelling influence on the intonation by lowering the grave pitch, replacing the grave pitch in words with a level intonation. As to the examples in the 8 *N.* the pitch is semi-high and sometimes one semitone higher, with or without a slight fall. Cf. 8 *N.* 27, 32—34, 49—50. As for marking, see 58.

The semi-grave pitch occurs in words whose intonation is level and whose original pitch is semi-low with a tendency to level the intonation.

kimpete, a small fish.

kiabu, ferry-place.
kila, boil.
nguba, peanut.
pele, no.

High- or Semi-high-Semi-low Pitch.

74. A falling high-semi-low ($'a_+$) or semi-high-semi-low pitch ($^+a_+$) in the root-syllable often occurs in dialects, where a falling intonation is used instead of a rising one, or instead of the acute pitch; $t^+a_+tu_|$, three; *tanu,* five, 3 *N.* 9, 11.

It also occurs for the sake of emphasis in figures of speech preceded by the particle *na'*: $na'ng'ó_+$, red; $na'b'á_+wa_+$, red; *nayo,* smarting feeling; *nape, nakwa, nawa,* sweeping sounds; $nap'o_+$ pouring out water. *N.* 134, 135.

Low pitch.

75. The low pitch ($a_|$) is of the same character as the semi-low pitch. It seldom occurs in the roots of the primitive words as they were pronounced by Kionga and others.

It is a *prefix*-pitch as well as an *ultima*-pitch. See the rules.

Low *influenced* pitch occurs in several cases: in the perfect suffix (96), in the ultima of the preterit (85, 86), in possessives (83) etc.

The low pitch occurs in the following cases:

a) In some nouns with rising intonation and in some derivatives from words with a high root-pitch. The root-pitch of the derivative is sometimes semi-low. Cf. *N.* 119—125.

$mu_|lo_|ngo^+$, line, row.
$tu_|ku_|la^+$, red colour.
$ba_+ka_|la^+$, man.
$di_+nsu_|su_|$, a plant < *nsu'su,* a chicken.
$mu^+nko_+mbo_|$, a plant < $nk_|o'mbo$, goat.
$ki'mfwa^+$ $nka_|bu_|$, an insect < fwa^+ *ka'buka.*

b) In the ultima in nouns with high root-pitch: $nk_|e'nge_|$, $ntu'mi_|$, $ka'nda_|$.

As for the low influenced pitch, se IV, V.

High- or Semi-high-Low Pitch.

76. A falling high-low ($'a_|$) or semi-high-low pitch ($^+a_|$) in a root-syllable often occurs instead of the high-, or semi-high-semi-low, or the acute pitch: $kib'e_|ndi_|$, self, 3 *N.* 3; $n'n_+a_|$ or $'\bar{n}_+a_|$, four, 3 *N.* 10; $na'w'u_|$, a dead shot far away.

Very low Pitch.

77. A very low *ultima*-pitch (a_{ll}) occurs in some dialects in words with a semi-low root-pitch and a falling intonation (Cf. 71), in emphasis, and in connected speech with a very low key. Cf. 4 *N.*

IV. Pitch in Connected Speech.

78. *In general.* With regard to the influenced pitch in connected speech it should be noted that, although the ground-pitch may differ very much, there is actually in primitive words only three gradations of the root-pitch: high, semi-high, and semi-low in the verbs; and high, acute, and semi-low in the nouns.[1]) These fix the rules of the influenced pitch, although there are several variations on account of other adjoining pitches.

The acute pitch is very stable.

The high pitch in words with a falling intonation is often lowered, and the word also gets a more level intonation.

The semi-low pitch in words with a rising intonation on the other hand is often raised to a high or acute pitch, and the word gets a falling intonation.

The semi-high pitch in verbs with a level intonation follows the rules of the high pitch in some cases and the semi-low pitch in other cases. See the rules 86 etc.

79. *Sentence pitch* is the intonation within the sentence. Sentence-pitch varies partly owing to the mutual relation of the parts of the sentence according to the rules for the influenced pitch, partly owing to the sense of the parts corresponding to the key (80), partly owing to the character of the sentence, (a question, a command, a negative etc.), and partly owing to the more or less marked rhythm of the sentence (i. e. a rising or falling at the end in order to give a certain emphasis to the sentence-pitch). Cf. the comments on 4 *N.* which is an example of sentence-pitch.

The general rule for the influenced pitch is that a high pitch, e. g. in genitives, prepositions, perfects, preterits, preceding another high pitch, lowers the latter, while it (the high pitch) raises a semi-low or low pitch to a high pitch and often to an acute pitch, in

[1]) In Bembe there is the grave pitch instead of the acute and semi-low pitch.

which case the high pitch falls before the acute pitch. For examples, see 81, 82, 84—86, 96.

A word or part of the sentence with a high key, preceding another word or part of the sentence with a high key, lowers the key of the latter word or part.

A word or part of the sentence with a low key, preceding another word or part of the sentence with a high key, ascends to a higher key with a more level intonation.

80. *Key.* With regard to a high or low key (14) we should note that the parts of the sentence, or sentence-groups, undergo the variations of pitch which are required by their meaning, formation, and position in the sentence. Cf. 4 *N.*

a) Emphatic words and expressions which require a high key are often formed by *na,* the ground-pitch and the intonation often vary. See 74, 117.

b) As for the rules for the preterit, the future and the combined personal pronouns in different keys, see 85—88.

c) The intonation in questions seldom varies (103).

d) As for the genitive, its principal word, adjectives and pronouns, see 81—83. As for prepositions, see 84.

e) In adresses (vocative) and in calls the key is often very much raised: |*Ki'onga*".| Cf. *N.* 197, 198.

f) If an imperative is intensified by a suffix, it has a higher key, especially when the verb has a semi-low ground-pitch. The ultima in all cases has a higher pitch. See 92.

g) Certain nouns are often pronounced in a low or high key in order to distinctly express or denote a dull, hollow or high, strong sound: |*wulu,*| sound of a shot; |*wuyu*|, a shot heard in the distance.

h) Nouns which indicate names of persons, whether they are derived or not, generally get a high key to emphasize the meaning of the name. The rising intonation often becomes falling. See 119 and *N.* 19, 22, 24—26.

i) The second element of the diminutives, reduplicatives, and compound words generally has a lower key than the first element, when these words are derived from a word with a falling intonation. In the opposite case the second element is higher than the first. See 123.

In Genitives and Adjectives.

In Genitives.

81. The genitive-pitch is high. In most cases it has great influence on the ground-pitch in the following noun. But it can be changed and modified itself according to the pitch that follows. See the rules.

The genitive mark *a* or the prefix, where *a* is missing, has in most cases strong stress. The accent of the root-syllable is weakened, and its pitch often falls. The secondary stress of the ultima disappears, and its pitch is often raised. The nasal-prefix with *i*-quality often has a slight and gliding tone, but the nasal with *u*-quality has a fuller tone. As for other gliding tones, see the tables of notes.

82. The rules of the genitive-pitch are as follows:

Influence *on* the genitive-pitch.

a) The genitive-pitch before a primitive word with acute root-pitch or high influnced prefix-pitch is lowered before the root-pitch and the prefix-pitch. Cf. *N.* 163, 170, 171, 173, 175. The syllable with the highest pitch is strongly stressed.

-a' Nz´a₊mbi₊, God's, pl. *a'ba' Nz´a₊mbi₊* < *Nz⁺a´mbi₊*.
-a'mwa´na⁺, of the child, pl. *a'ba´na⁺* < *mw₊a´na₍*.
-a'mu''sa⁺ku⁺, of the calabash < *mu₍sa'ku₍*.
-a'ki''⁺bu''⁺ka', place < *ki₊bu₊ka⁺*.

Note. The genitive-pitch is occasionally the same as the root-pitch. Cf. 2 *N.* 19, 20: *wa⁺nkwa´la₍*, *wa'mwi´si₊*, but: — *wa'ma´ma₍* (84).

b) The genitive-pitch also falls before monosyllabic nouns with a high pitch when its prefix has a full tone.

The nasal with *u*-quality has a higher rising pitch than the the genitive mark in monosyllables as well as in dissyllables. Cf. *N.* 165, 166.

-a'mu''tu₊, *-a'n''tu₊*, of the head < *mu⁺tu'* < *n⁺tu'*.
-a'lu''to₊, of the spoon, pl. *a''nto⁺* < *lu⁺to'*.
-a'ki''to⁺, of the thigh < *ki'to⁺*.
-wa⁺ki'ba⁺, of the stinger < *ki⁺ba⁺*, 2 *N.* 61, 53.

In Mazinga, 2 *N.* 83, 59, 62.

wa'ba'ke⁺nto⁺, of the women.
wa'nsa'⁻, poisonous < *nsa⁺*, *mi-*.
wa'ngo⁺, of the leopard < *ngo⁺*.

c) The genitive-pitch before dissyllables or polysyllables with a high ground-pitch is equal to the prefix-pitch as soon as the prefix has a full tone: *-a¹ma¹ka⁺la⁺*, of the coals.

Influence exercised *by* the genitive pitch.

d) In monosyllables with a high ground-pitch the root-pitch falls to semi-high or semi-low. The genitive-pitch is high, provided the noun has no prefix with a full tone. In that case the genitive-pitch falls, and the prefix-pitch is raised to a very high pitch. Cf. *N.* 164, 165.

-a¹ba₊, of the palm, pl. *a¹ma''ba⁺* < *ba¹*, pl. *ma⁺ba¹*.
-a¹n''tu₊, of the head < *n⁺tu¹*, *a¹mu''tu₊* (Kyi.).
wa¹nsa⁺, sour < *nsa¹*, 2 *N.* 58.

e) In dissyllables with a high ground-pitch the root-pitch falls and the ultima-pitch rises, both becoming semi-high. The genitive pitch is very high, provided the noun has no prefix with a full tone, in which case the genitive-pitch falls and the prefix-pitch becomes very high. Root- and ultima-pitch become semi-high. Cf. *N.* 172, 174.

-a''mfu⁺mu⁺, of the chief.
a''ka⁺la⁺, of the coal.
a¹n''sa⁺fu⁺, of the nsafu-tree.
a''ntsa⁺fu⁺, of the nsafu-fruit.

Cf. also *wa⁺ku¹tu₊*, 2 *N.* 16, where the ultima has a semi-low pitch, on account of the special ground-pitch: *ku¹tu⁺* pl. *ma¹⁻tu¹⁻* 2 *N.* 1, 2.

f) In polysyllables with a high ground-pitch the pitch and the intonation follow the preceding rules.

-a''zo⁺bo⁺ngo⁺, pl. *a¹ma¹zo⁺bo⁺ngo₊* < *zo¹bo¹ngo₊*, an antilope.

In reduplicative words the pitch is likewise lowered or raised according to its variations and the preceding rules.

-a¹ke´di⁺-ke´di₊ < *ke₊dima.*
-a''ki⁺tu⁺-ki⁺tu₊ < *ki¹tuka.*

g) In nouns with a low-high ground-pitch, the genitive-, the root-, and the ultima-pitch follow the same rule as in *e*. The genitive-pitch is very high, provided the noun has no prefix with a full tone. Cf. *N.* 167, 168, 169.

-a''nke⁺nge⁺, of the market < *nke¹nge₁* or *nk₁e¹nge.*
-a''vu⁺nga⁺, pl. *a¹ma¹vu⁺nga⁺* < *v₁u¹nga₁*, of the blanket, pl. *ma₁v₁u¹nga₁.*
-a¹mu''ka⁺nda⁺, *a¹n''ka⁺nda⁺* < *nk₁a¹nda₁.*

h) In nouns with a high root- and ultima-pitch the genitive-pitch generally follows the same rules as for primitive words with a high ground-pitch. In dialects where the ultima-ground-pitch is somewhat lower, the influenced ultima-pitch is also lower. As for the plural, cf. 2 *N.* 82, 83.

-a'nk'e⁺nto₊, -a'ba'ke⁺nto⁺.

i) In nouns whose stem begins with a vowel, the root has a very high pitch (acute), and the prefix-vowel may become a semi-vowel or identical with the root-vowel. The genitive-pitch falls somewhat Cf. *N.* 171.

-a'mwa´na⁺, < mw₊a´na₊, child.

As for Maz. see 2 *N.* 20: *wa'mwi´si₊.*

j) The genitive-pitch after the interrogative *nki'*, what, has the same high pitch and an equally great influence as the preposition-pitch.

nki' a''ngo'nda'⁻ < ngo₊nda⁺, moon.

k) In dialects, where the genitive-mark *a* is omitted, the prefix has the genitive-pitch. If, in certain cases, the prefix is wanting, the genitive (the owner) has a lower key. As for the principal word, see *n.*

kia⁺ndu⁺ ki''mfu⁺mu₊ the chair of the chief.

nzo' mfu₊mu₊, the house of the chief.

Note. The same rules apply to adjectives: *nzo' ya'ndo´mbe₊,* a black house. See 83.

1). In Kingoyi and other dialects where *k* in the prefix *ki* is lost and *i* before the genitive-mark *a* is assimilated to *e*, the genitive-pitch changes according to the rules already given.

-e'sa⁺ <sa' or *ki⁺sa'*, pot.

-e''mba'mbu' <ki₊mba₊mbu⁺, string around head or hips.

Note. In the Bembe dialect *i* is retained: *maitololo,* of the thing.

m) In nouns with a semi-low ground-pitch the genitive-pitch has not so strong an influence as the preposition-pitch, which changes a rising intonation into a falling one, but the primitive word with a semi-low ground-pitch has a high key with nearly the same pitch in the root-syllable and the ultima: *a'ki'⁺ba'⁺ka'.* Cf. *N.* 175. In Maz.: *wa'mo'no⁺⁺* (36).

n) The principal word is changed according to its ultima-vowel, which is modified, left out or not, in the genitive. The principal word has always a somewhat higher key, if there is no emphasis. A long vowel often becomes half-long or short.

nka'nd' a' Nza´mbi$_+$, the book of God.
nkand' a'nzo$_+$, the book of the house, table $<$ *nk*$_|$*a'nda*$_+$.
mpi'la'$^+$ *mo'si*$_+$*ye*$_+$ 2 *N.* 97, but:— *mu' di'a*$_+$*mbu*$_+$ *dia*$_+$*mfu'mu*$_+$ 2 *N.* 87.

As for the change of the principal word with possessive and other pronouns, see 83, d.

As for the influence of the genitive-pitch on the ultima-vowel of preceding nouns, see 6, b.

In Adjectives.

83. Nouns used as adjectives, and adjectives of differing classes follow the rules of the genitive according to their ground-pitch.

a) Noun-adjectives (gram. 115) have a high ground-pitch except *la´*, *i´ngi*$_+$, and *o*$^+$*nso*$^+$*no*$_+$. *N.* 176—179; 2 *N.* 117—120.

a$^+$*la´*, *u*$^+$*la´*, *wa'u'la´*, *ba'ba'la´* $<$ *nda´*, *ya*$^+$*anda´*.
u'bi$^+$, *wa'u''bi*$^+$, *wa'mu''bi*$^+$ (Kyi.), *ba'ba''bi*$^+$ $<$ *mbi'*, *a''mbi*$^+$, *ba''mbi*$^+$.

anene, *waunene*, *yayinene* $<$ *nene*.
uke, *ukeke*, *umuke* (Kyi.), *babake*, *nke*, *anke*, *ankeke*. } Cf. *mbi*.
ambote, *wamubote*, *bababote*, *wamubwe* (Be.).
kia$_+$*ki´ngi*$_+$, *ba*$_+$*bi´ngi*$_+$, *ki´ngi*$_+$, *bingi*.
o$^+$*nso*$^+$*no*$_+$, *ba*$^+$*bo*$^+$*nso*$^+$*no*$_|$, *ba*$^+$*bo*$^+$.

b) Verbal adjectives follow the same rules as the preterit, or the future, and other forms of the verb according to the meaning of the verbal adjective.

a$^+$*le´ndo*$_+$, smoothed $<$ *l*$_+$*e*$^+$*nda'*, to smooth out.
ma$^+$*fu´nda*$_+$, mouldy $<$ *f*$_+$*ũ*$^+$*nda'*, to be mouldy.
a$_+$*ni´ku*$_+$, grinded $<$ *ni*$_+$*ka*$^+$, to grind.
sa'lu$_+$ *kia*$^+$*zu*$^+$*mba'*, char-work $<$ *zu*$^+$*mba'*, to chare.
lu'mbu$^+$ *kia*$^+$*kwi*$^+$*za'*, coming day $<$ *kwi*$_+$*za*$^+$.
a$^+$*zi*$_|$*ngu*$_|$, winded $<$ *z*$^+$*i'nga*$_+$, to wind.
a$^+$*twa*$_|$*lu*$_|$, produced $<$ *twa*$^+$*la*$^+$.

c) Numeric adjectives generally follow the rules of the genitive, but with demonstrative pronouns all of them have a falling intonation. Cf. 2 *N.* 104—107.

ba$^+$*ntu*$^+$ *ba*$^+$*ta*$^+$*tu*$^+$.
mfu'mu' *zo*$_+$*le*$_+$.
ngu'lu' *zo*$_+$*le*$_+$.
But:— *u'mo'si*$^+$, same person.
zi$^+$*na*$^+$ *za*$^+$*ta*$^+$*tu*$_|$, those three.

ku'mi' ye+ mo+si+, *ye zole* etc.
nzo' ta+nu+.

d) The possessive pronouns *a'mi+*, *aku*, *andi*, *eto*, *eno*, *au*, have their high pitch modified according to the pitch of the principal word (the owned thing).

In nouns with a high or low-high ground-pitch the possessive pitch is assimilated according to the pitch of the noun whose ultima-pitch is raised, and consequently all syllables become equally high, if the ultima-vowel has past into a semi-vowel, or been omitted, otherwise the ultima of the possessive pronoun is lower. As for monosyllables and nouns with a different ground-pitch, see the examples. Cf. *N.* 180—188. In Mz. we notice some differences. 2 *N.* 41—44.

In a combination of two vowels the ultima-vowel becomes a semi-vowel, or else it coalesces with the pronoun.

nti+a'mi+, my tree < *nti'*.
s'a'mi+ or *si+a'mi+*, my father < *se'*,
nzu'a+mi+, my house <*nzo'*.
mfu'mwa'mi', my chief < *mfu'mu,*.
ka'la+ dia+mi+, my coal < *ka'la,*.
nka'nd' a'mi', my book *nk,a'nda,*.
nke´nto+a+mi+, my wife < *nke'´nto'*.
ka´nda+ dia'mi,, my paw < *ka´nda,*.
Nza´mbi+ a+mi+, my God < *Nz+a´mbi+*.
ta´ta+ dia'mi,, my father <*ta´ta,*.
to+ko' dia+mi,, my husband <*to+ko*.
ngu+lu' a+mi+, my pig <*ngu+lu*.
mu'ntu' a'mi+, my slave <*mu+ntu*.
ng'ang' a'mi+, my priest <*nga+nga*.
nzo' e'to+, our house.

Note 1. In Bembe and other dialects *a`ni* (=*ami*), *aku*, *eto*, *eno* have the grave pitch, and *a'ni*, his, *a'ku*, their, a high pitch in comformity with the personal pronouns. These are also modified according to the principal word: *mu+ti a'ku+*, their tree, *muti a`ku+*, your tree.

Note 2. If the possessive precedes its principal word it is very slightly modified. Cf. *c* and *e*.

e) In mono- and dissyllabic demonstrative pronouns (*yi+*, *ya+yi+*, and so on) the pitch of the principal word and the pronoun is assimilated according to the ground-pitch. Nouns with a rising into-

nation have a falling or level intonation according to the stress of the demonstrative. Polosyllabic demonstratives have as a rule a stronger emphasis and are more independent, but in connected speech they have about the same influence on their principal word. 2 *N.* 121—125.

nti⁺ ū⁺, *wu⁺*, *wau₊*, this tree; *wa⁺u ńti⁺*.
mfú⁺mu⁺ yi₊, *mfu₍mú₊ yá₍yi₍*[1]) this chief; *ya⁺yi₊ mfu⁺mu₍*.
Nza´mbi₊ yi', *ya'yi⁺*, this God; *ya⁺yi₊ Nza´mbi₊*.
mú⁺ntu₊ wu⁺, *mu⁺ntu⁺ wáu₊*, this man; *wa⁺u mu⁺ntu₊*.
to⁺ko₊ di⁺, *to⁺ko⁺ dia⁺di₊*, this man; *dia⁺di₊ to⁺ko₊*.

In Prepositions.

84. With regard to pitch the simple prepositions *va'*, *ku'*, *mu'*, follow the rules of the genitive-pitch, but as they have a stronger stress than the genitive mark and consequently a greater influence than the genitive-pitch, they also change the rising intonation into a falling one, and the root takes the acute pitch, if not preceded by a prefix with full tone. Cf. the examples in 82. Cf. *N.* 189—194 and 2 *N.* 21—27, 63—69, 85—93.

a) *mu' Nza´mbi₍*, *m⁺u' mwa´na₍*, *mu' mvu'*.
mu' ngo´lo₍, *va'*, *ku' m̄o´ngo₊*.
b) *mu' nga´nga₍*, *mu' mba´nga₊la₊*.
b) *vá' lu₊tó₊*, *mú' nto₊*, *ku' mu₊tu₊* (Kyi.), *ku'nza₊*.
c) See the following examples.
d) *ku' ba₊*, *mu' ma₊ba₊*, *ku' yu'lu'⁻ ba₊* (Kyi.).
va', *ku'*, *mu' nsi₊*, *ku' ntu⁺* or *ku'⁻ n'ti₊*.
e) *va' ka'la₊*, *mu' mfu'mu₊*.
f) *ku' zo'bo₊ngo₊*.
g) *ku' nke'nge₊*.
h) *mu' nke'nto₊*, *mu' ba'ke₊nto₊*.
i) *mu' di´su₍*, *mu' ba´na₍*.
j) *mu' nki' a'ngo₊nda₊*.
k) *h'e' Lo₊nda₊*, *ha' ki'⁻ Lo⁺nda⁺ < Lo₊nda⁺*.
kw' I'ngo₊yo₊, *ku' Ki'⁻ngo⁺yi⁺*.
h' e'sa'sa₊la₊, *ha' ki'⁻sa⁺sa⁺la₊*.

l) In Bembe and other dialects where the grave pitch occurs instead of the acute pitch: *mu' Nza`mbi⁺*.

m) *va' nti⁺ a'mfu⁺mu₊*.
ku' nzo a⁺mi₊, *mu⁺ nzo₊ a⁺nga⁺nga₊*.
mu' dia₊mbu₊ dia₊mfu'mu₊.

[1]) Being the last example in the phonogram it has such a low key.

n) *kwa* (*kudi*, *kuri*, in dial.) have not so strong an influence as the simple prepositions, and therefore the intonation in the noun becomes similar to that of the genitive. Cf. 2 *N.* 94, 95, 28:

kwa^{1} *nga*$_{+}$*nga*$_{+}$, *kwa*^{1} *nge*$^{+}$*ye*$_{+}$, *kw*$^{+}$*a*^{1} *ya*$_{+}$*ya*$_{1}$.

o) *Va*, *ku*, *mu* with a conjunctive meaning, and *mu*, *ku*, in order to, before a verb, have the same high pitch and about the same influence 2 *N.* 70, 96, 97.

ku^{1} *n*$^{1+}$*ti*$_{+}$ *ngi*$_{+}$*zi*$_{+}$*di*$_{+}$ *mu*^{1} *la*^{1}*nda*$_{1}$.
ye^{1} *mo*^{1}*yo*$^{1+}$, with life.
ye^{1} *mfa*^{1}*mu*$_{1}$, with the chief.
mpi^{1}*la*$^{1+}$ *mo*^{1}*si*$_{+}$ *ye*$_{+}$, *na*^{1}*te*$^{+}$ *ye*$_{+}$.

In Tense and Mood.

In Preterit.

85. The preterit is expressed by the tense-vowel *a* which is short and has a high pitch. The preterit has a higher key than the future, whose corresponding tense-vowel is longer, more stressed, and has a lower pitch.

The preterit-pitch is somewhat modified by the personal pitch and the ground-pitch of the verb.

a) The first and second person have almost the same pitch, but the first person has stronger stress than the second person. The third person, on the contrary, has always a lower pitch. When a syllable with an acute pitch follows, the personal pitch is lower.

b) The preterit-pitch becomes higher or lower according to the ground-pitch of the verb. See the examples *infra*.

86. The influence of the preterit-pitch on the primitive verbs is almost similar to that of the preposition-pitch, so that verbs with a rising intonation have a falling intonation with a high influenced pitch[1]) in the root-syllable and strong stress, and verbs with a high root-pitch have a lower pitch and weakened stress (if the root-syllable is short) in the first and second person.

In the third person the root-pitch becomes low in verbs with a high or semi-high ground-pitch, and acute in verbs with a semi-low ground-pitch.

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[1]) On account of its stress and the fall of the intonation it can be considered and marked as an acute pitch.

		Verbs with a falling and level intonation.	Verbs with a rising intonation.
1.	1 P.	*ya'kó⁺mba₊* < *k⁺o'mba₊*.	*ya'bó'nga₊* < *bo⁺nga'* (or *₊*).
	3 P.	*wa⁺kó,mba,*.	*wa₊bo´nga₊*.[1])
2.	1 P.	*ya'tú⁺la₊* < *tū⁺la⁺*. Cf. *N.* 222.	*ya'tú'ta₊* < *tūta*. Cf. *N.* 212.
	3 P.	*wa⁺tú,la,*. *N.* 221.	*wa₊tu´ta₊* *N.* 211.
3.	1 P.	*yá'ba⁺ka₊* < *ba'ka* Cf. *N.* 202.	*ya'ka'ba₊* < *ka₊ba⁺*. Cf. *N.* 212.
	3 P.	*wá⁺bá,ka,*. *N.* 201.	*wa₊ka´ba₊* *N.* 211.
4.	1 P.	*ya'su⁺bu₊la₊* < *su'bu'la'*.	*ya'su'ku₊la₊* < *su₊ku₊la⁺*.
	3 P.	*wa⁺su₊bu₊la₊*.	*wa₊su´ku₊la₊*.
5.	1 P.	*ya⁺ko⁺mbi⁺la'* < *ko'mbila*.	*ya''bo'ngi'la'*, < *bo₊ngila*.
	3 P.	*wa'ko⁺mbi₊la₊*.	*wa'bo´ngi'la'*.

In Future.

87. The future-pitch is indicated by the tense-vowel *a* which is longer, more stressed, and has a lower pitch than the tense-vowel of the preterit. The future has a lower key than the preterit, although verbs with a semi-low ground-pitch have a somewhat higher key than the isolated word.

Pitch and quantity in the future vary according to the personal pitch and the ground-pitch. Verbs with a rising intonation retain this in the future, and the preceding syllable of the personal pronoun is shorter, lower, and more weakly stressed than the corresponding verbs with a falling or level intonation.

In certain dialects the personal pronoun has a falling pitch.

		Verbs with a falling and level intonation.	Verbs with a rising intonation.
1.	1 P.	*yā'ko₊mba₊*.	*yá⁺bo⁺ngá'*.
	3 P.	*wa⁺ko₊mba,*.	*wa⁺bo⁺nga'*.
2.	1 P.	*yā'tu₊la⁺*. *N.* 223.	*ya⁺tu⁺ta'*. *N.* 213.
	3 P.	*wa⁺tu₊la₊*.	*wa⁺tu⁺ta'*.
3.	1 P.	*yā'ba₊ka₊*. *N.* 203.	*ya⁺ka⁺ba'*. *N.* 213.
	3 P.	*wa⁺ba₊ka₊*.	*wa⁺ka⁺ba'*.
4.	1 P.	*yā'su₊bu₊la₊*.	*ya⁺su⁺ku⁺la'*.
	3 P.	*wa⁺su₊bu₊la₊*.	*wa⁺su⁺ku⁺la'*.
5.	1 P.	*yā'ko⁺mbi⁺la⁺*.	*ya⁺bo⁺ngi⁺la'*.
	3 P.	*wa⁺ko₊mbi₊la₊*.	*wa⁺bo⁺ngi⁺la'*.

[1]) A syllable with the acute pitch is not marked, because it has always the strongest stress.

88. The preterit and the future are consequently distinguished from each other by their different pitch, quantity and intonation. This is very evident in verbs with a rising intonation.

The first person of the preterit has a very high or a high short pitch. In the future it has a long high or semi-high pitch according to the intonation of the verb. The second person of the preterit and of the future has about the same pitch as the corresponding first person but with weaker stress.

The third person of the preterit has a semi-high or a semi-low pitch. It is very short before the acute pitch. In the future there is a high or a semi-high pitch. Verbs with a rising intonation get a falling intonation with acute root-pitch in preterits. In the future the rising intonation is retained, but the key is higher, though not so high as in the preterit. Verbs with a falling intonation have a lower key in the future than in the preterit.

In Present Tense.

89. The present tense-pitch (present indefinite) seems to be identical with the future-pitch. It has no influence on the intonation. It is modified according to the root-pitch. The first, second and third persons have about the same pitch and the same stress (especially in the first person) as in the future.

1 P. *i'ko₊mba₊.* *i⁺bo⁺nga'.*
3 P. *u'ko₊mba₊.* *u⁺bo⁺nga'.*

In Subjunctive.

90. a) The subjunctive-pitch (future indefinite) which is high and strongly stressed exercises a stronger influence than the present tense-pitch. A rising intonation is changed into a falling one, but in certain dialects it can also be retained, when the key is somewhat higher than in the future. Verbs with a semi-high ground-pitch often have a rising intonation.

The nasal-pitch of the first person is identical with the root-pitch, if the root has no voiced consonant. In such a case the nasal has a gliding tone.

The root-syllable has a very strong stress.

1 P. *m₊bá⁺ka₊.* *N.* 204. *nka'ba₊.* *N.* 214.
3 P. *ka₊ba⁺ka₊* *ka⁺ka'ba₊.*

1 P. *mpá⁺ka'.* *N.* 224. *ntu'ta₊.* *N.* 214.
3 P. *ka₊pa⁺ka⁺.* *ka⁺tu'ta₊.*

b) The consecutive-pitch is of the same kind as the present- or the future-pitch and has no influence on the verb:

zi⁺bu⁺la' ya⁺ko⁺ta', open that I may enter.

In Conjunctive.

91. a) The conjunctive-pitch is high and changes the rising intonation of the verb into a falling one as in the preterit.

The ultima of the verb with a high and semi-high root-pitch has an equally high pitch as the root. In other verbs the ultima is falling. The personal pitch is high and almost the same in all persons. It is modified according to the root-pitch of the verb. When the personal pronoun coalesces with the root of the verb *kwenda*, it has the same pitch, but it is prolonged.

When the conjunctive has the meaning of an imperative, it gets the imperative-pitch with its lower or higher key and follows its rules.

1 P. *ya'ko⁺mbi⁺.*	*ya'bo´ngi₊.*
3 P. *ka'ko⁺mbi⁺.*	*ka'bo´ngi₊.*
1 P. *mwe' ko⁺mbi⁺.*	*mwe' bo´ngi₊.*
3 P. *ke' ko⁺mbi⁺.*	*ke' bo´ngi₊.*

Note. The forms of *kwiza* and *kwenda* have generally level intonation. *N.* 229, 233.

ngi'zi' (*ngie'ndi'*) *su₊mbi₊* or *be'nzi' bo´ngi₊.*

b) The distant conjunctive gets the same pitch as the future and has therefore no influence on the intonation of the verb.

In Imperative.

92. The imperative-pitch is low and strongly dynamic according to the mood of the speaker. It changes the intonation of the verb and lowers and raises the verb according to its ground-pitch and the emphasis or intensity of the command. Cf. *N.* 254—259.

The ultima often has strong stress and a higher pitch. It often has a secondary meaning of question or agreement.

ta₊la₊, ta⁺le⁺no', < ta'la₊.
ka⁺ba₊, ka'be'no'⁺, < ka₊ba⁺.

In Ti-Mood.

93. The *ti*-pitch is a short semi-low or low ending pitch, which is preceded by a half-long syllable with rhythmic accent and with a pitch according to the intonation of the word.

Ti often occurs in conjunctives and imperatives, when it follows the pitch-rules of these moods:

ya'ka⁺nge₊ti₊ ngu´ba₁.
ya⁺ka´nge₊ti₁ mu₊ntu₁.
ya'mbu'le'ti'⁺ (imperative).

In Negative Mood.

94. a) The negative mood-pitch is high and has the same influence as the pitch of infinitive denoting purpose. The negative particle + a pronoun is modified according to the intonation of the verb. Cf. *N* 249—253. 2 *N.* 129, 130.

mo´no₊ ki'ko⁺mbi₁, *ki⁺bo´ngi₁,*
ki'ba⁺ki₁, *ki⁺ka´bi₁,*
ba₊ka⁺ ba₊bá₁ki₁₁, *ba₊ka⁺ ba₁ká₊bi₁₁,*
me'' yá'nti₊ni₊ < ti⁺na (Kyi.), *me⁺ yá'mpe'ti₊ < he₊ta,* (Kyi.),
u⁺ ka' u⁺ma´ni₁ < ma₊na.

b) In the consecutive the negative-pitch has the character of the future-pitch.

kanga nkombo yá'ka₊ti₊ná⁺, yá'ka₊he₊ta₁ < he₊ta,
but:— *ya⁺ka⁺he´ta₊,* which he shot.

c) The negation-pitch with *ka'-ko₊* is fluctuating but *ka* + a pronoun is modified according to the pronominal pitch. Negations in different tenses do not affect the tense-pitch, which is modified according to the intonation. 2 *N.* 126—128, 131—137, 111.

ká⁺ mu₊ntu₊ ko₁, ká⁺ mfu₊mu₊ ko₁, ká₊ Nza´mbi₊ ko₊, ká⁺bwa' ko₁, ki⁺ze'bi⁺ ko₊.

Preterit.

kia⁺bá⁺ka₊ ko₁. *ki⁺a₊ka´ba₁ ko₁₁,*
ká⁺ba⁺ka₊ ko₁. *k⁺á₊ka'ba₁ ko₁₁.*
na'ta₊lá⁺ni⁺ kó⁺, N. 245. *na⁺ka´ba⁺ni⁺ ko⁺, N.* 246.

Future.

ná'ta⁺lá⁺ni⁺ kó⁺, N. 247. *ná'ka'bá'ni⁺ kó⁺, N.* 248.

In Infinitive denoting Purpose.

95. The pitch in infinitive denoting purpose is high and changes a rising intonation into a falling one. In verbs with a falling intonation the pitch is the same in both syllables.

The verb preceding this infinitive has a higher key:
be'le' ko+mbi+, *N.* 229, *be'nzi' bo´ngi+*. *N.* 233.
In several dialects it is superseded by the infinitive: *be'nzi' tu+la+*.

In Perfect.

96. The present perfect-pitch is high and of the same character as the preterit-pitch with regard to the personal-pitch and the intonation of the verb.

As perfect suffixes are of two kinds, there are two kinds of formations, but they do not affect the root-pitch, which in the first and the second person is of a level character[1]), but in the third of a rising or falling character according to the falling or rising intonation of the primitive verb. When the preceding pronominal prefix is one semitone lower than the root-pitch, it is not marked.

a) First perfect.

1.	1 P. *u+ke'ngi+* < *k+a'nga+*.	*nk´e+ngi+* < *ka+nga'*.
	3 P. *k'e''ngi+*, *N.* 230.	*k´e+ngi+*, *N.* 234.
2.	1 P. *n+ze'ki''* < *zā+ka+*, 2 *N.* 157.	*ndwe´ki,* < *lwa+ka+*,
	3 P. *ze'ki+*, 158.	*lwe´ki,,* *N.* 260.
3.	1 P. *n+di'di''*, 2 *N.* 153, 155.	
	3 P. *di'di+*, 154, 156.	
4.	1 P. *m+be+ki+*, 2 *N.* 138.	*nke´bi+*, 2 *N.* 166.
	3 P. *be++ki+*, 139.	*ke´bi+*, *N.* 215, 2 *N.* 167.
5.	1 P. *nsu+bi+di''*, 2 *N.* 140.	*nsu´ku+di+*, 2 *N.* 169.
	2 P. *su'bu'di'*, 141.	*ka'bi'di+* 170.
	3 P. *su'bu'di+*, 142.	*su´ku+di+*, *N.* 241, 2 *N.* 171.
	3 P. *ku'ku'di''*, *N.* 237.	

b) Second perfect.

1.	1 P. *nko''mbe'le+*, 2 *N.* 151.	*mbo´nge+le+*, 2 *N.* 181.
	3 P. *ko''mbe+le+*, 152.	*bo´nge+le+*, 182.
2.	1 P. *n+tu'di'di''*, 2 *N.* 160 or 159.	*ntu´ti+di+*, 2 *N.* 179.
	3 P. *tu'di'di+*, *N.* 226, 2 *N.* 161.	*tu´ti+di+*, *N.* 216, 2 *N.* 180.
3.	1 P. *n+ke+di+di+*.	*nke´di+di+*.
	3 P. *ke+di+di+*.	*ke´di+di+*.

[1]) Small variations in the Mazinga dialect (2 *N.*) should be observed.

97. The preterit perfect-pitch is characterised by having its pitch on the tense-vowel *a*, although it is to be observed that the root-syllable-pitch and the suffix-pitch are almost always the same in verbs with rising intonation. As for stress and small variations in pitch, see 2 *N.*

1.	1 P. *ya'ke⁺ngi₊.*	*ya'ke'⁻ngi'⁻.*	
	3 P. *wa'ke₊ngi₊.*	*wa'ke⁺ngi⁺⁺.*	
2.	1 P. *yazeki.*	*yasedi.*	Cf. 1, yakengi, *supra.*
	3 P. *wazeki.*	*wasedi.*	
3.	1 P. *yadidi.*	*yabwidi.*	
	3 P. *wadidi.*	*wabwidi.*	
4.	1 P. *ya'be⁺ki₊*, 2 *N.* 143.	*ya'ke'⁻bi'⁻*, 2 *N.* 172.	
	3 P. *wa'be₊ki₊*, 144.	*wa'ke⁺bi⁺⁺*, 173.	
5.	1 P. *ya'su⁺bu₊di'*, 2 *N.* 145.	*ya'su'⁻ku⁺di⁺*, 2 *N.* 174.	
	3 P. *wa'su⁺bu₊di₊*, 146.	*wa'su'⁻ku⁺di⁺⁺.* 175.	

In Continuative.

98. The continuative tense-vowel *a* in the suffixes *-anga, -aka* (Mz), and *-ana* (Be.). is long, (in certain dialects very long), has a rhythmic accent and the same pitch as the root-pitch according to the respective tense-pitches and intonations.

tu⁺ko⁺mba⁺nga⁺.	*tu⁺bo₊nga₊nga⁺.*
tu⁺ko⁺mbe⁺le⁺nge⁺.	*tu⁺bo₊nge₊le₊nge⁺.*
tu⁺di⁺di⁺ngi⁺, *N.* 227.	*tu₊ti₊di₊ngi⁺*, *N.* 217.

In Pronouns.

In Combined Personal Pronouns.

99. The combined subjective personal pronoun-pitch is a fluctuating pitch, which varies according to the ground-pitch of the verb and the pitch of tense and mood.

The first person has generally a higher level-pitch with strong stress. The second person has about the same pitch but it is not so emphatic as in the first and third person and has no strong stress. As for the pitch and stress on combined personal pronouns in different tenses in the Mazinga dialect, cf. 2 *N.* 138—182.

Their relation to the tense-pitch is as follows:

a) The pitch of the first person in the past tenses (preterit and perfect) is shorter, higher, and, with nasals, of a rising character. In the present tenses (present and future indef.) it has a medium pitch with secondary stress. In the future tenses (future distant of different moods) it is longer, lower, and of a falling character. The pitch of the first person plural is not as typical as the first person sing.

b) The pitch of the second person in corresponding tenses is almost identical with that of the first person, but has no rising and falling character and is therefore not so emphatic as in the first and third person.

c) The pitch of the third person in the past tenses is lower than the pitch of the first and second person. In the present and future tenses it is almost identical with the first and second person. In dialects it is somewhat falling in the future tense in conformity with the first person, or, in some cases, slightly rising.

100. The pitch of the combined objective personal pronouns is a fluctuating pitch, which varies according to the pitch of the combined subjective personal pronoun, the pitch of the tenses, and the intonation of the verb.

When the subjective pronoun of the third person has a lower pitch, the objective pronoun has a somewhat higher pitch, a transition-pitch towards the high or very high root-syllable-pitch of the verb. If the objective pronoun in this case is a nasal, the subjective pronoun with the nasal has a rising pitch. In the first and the second person the nasal has a level or somewhat falling pitch. If the object is left out, the subjective pronoun generally is more strongly stressed in the first person. The covering prefix *ku* has a modified pitch according to the objective pronoun.

1. 1 P. *i'ki'ti+di+*, I love myself.
2 P. *u'ki'ti+di+*, you love yourself.
3 P. *u+ki'ti''di+*, he loves himself.

2. 1 P. *i''ti+di+*, *N.* 243, I love you, or *i'ku'ti+di+*.
2 P. *u'nti+di+*, you love me.
3 P. *u+nti''di+*, he loves me.
3 P. *u+ti''di+*, *N.* 244, he loves you.

3. 1 P. *i'n+ti'di+*, I love him, *ni'mu'ti+di+*, (Kyi).
2 P. *u'n+ti'di+*, you love him, *u'mu'ti+di+*.
3 P. *u+n'ti''di+*, he loves him, *u+mu'ti''di+*.

4. 1 P. *i'tu'ti+di+*.
   2 P. *u'ba+ti'di+*.
   3 P. *u+tu'ti''di*.

5. 1 P. *ya'm+be+ki+*, I have caught him, *i'mu'be+ki+*, (Kyi).
   3 P. *wa+m'be''ki+*, he has caught him, *u+mu'be''ki+*.
   but:— *wa+mbe+ki+*, he has caught me.

6. 1 P. *ya'n+so+nga+*, I showed him.
   2 P. *wa'ntso+nga+*, you showed me.
   3 P. *wa+n+so+nga,*, he showed him.
   3 P. *wa+ntso,nga,*, he showed me.

7. 1 P. *ya+m+bo+nga'*, I shall take him, *ya+lu+bo+nga'*.

Note. The objective nasal-pronoun of the first person is of *i*-quality. It has no distinct pitch and coalesces with the following consonant, which then has an aspirated or emphatic pronunciation.

The objective nasal-pronoun of the third person is of *u*-quality, has a clear pitch and a clear pronunciatien.

In Objects expressed by Nouns.

101. Indirect and direct objects, expressed by nouns with a rising intonation, have a more level intonation after verbs with a falling intonation.

After verbs with a rising intonation the object has a falling intonation: *mbe+ki+ nga+nga+*, *mbe'ndi' nga+nga+*.

If the object goes before, the pitch is retained and the object has stronger stress and a higher key: *nga+nga' mbe+ki+*.

The third form of the personal class-pronouns has a semi-high or high pitch with strong stress in the future and is emphasized after auxiliary verbs. In other cases it generally has a semi-low or low pitch:

ya' bio' su+mba+, *wa+to,ma,* *bio+ su+mba+*, *ba+mpe+ni+ kio,*.

In Relative Pronouns.

102. The relative-pitch, in conformity with the pitch of the combined personal pronoun, is a fluctuating pitch and is modified according to stress, meaning, and tense.

ma⁺ka⁺ya, *ma⁺nko'mbe₊le₊*, the leaves that I swept away.
ma₊ka'ya₊ *ma''nko'mbe₊le₊*, the leaves *with which* I have swept.
ku'yi''zo'le₊le₊, where *it* (the wind) listeth.
ku⁺ba'zo''le₊le, where they *want* (to go).

In Questions.

103. The interrogative-pitch is often of a combined character: rising but also very rapidly falling or falling-rising. In questions the key rises and the principal syllable with the interrogative pitch is lengthened and stressed. The interrogative particle as a rule has a lower falling pitch. Verbs which in the tenses retain the rising intonation, do not change the ultima, because the interrogative pitch has no influense on the intonation of the verb.

a) In verbs:

Pret. *w'a''ko⁺mba₊*? hast thou swept? or *wa''ko⁺mb'⁺e*?
w⁺a'bo'nga₊? hast thou taken? or *wa'bo'ng'⁺e*?

Fut. *w'a⁺ko₊mba₊*? shalt thou sweep?
w⁺a⁺bo⁺nga'? shalt thou take?

Perf. *lu'ko''mbe⁺le₊*? have you swept?
ko''mbe⁺le⁺? has thou sweept? or *ko''mbe⁺li⁺ e*?
bo´nge⁺le⁺? hast thou taken? *bo´nge⁺li⁺ e*?
lwe´ki? *N.* 260, 261.

Note 1. In dialects the ultima or the interrogative particle *e* often has a falling and short rising pitch, for example *di'di⁺ ⁺e₊'*?

Note 2. In an affirmative answer the ultima has strong secondary stress and in dialects a somewhat raised pitch: *n⁺di'di⁺* or *n⁺di'di'*, I have eaten.

b) In pronouns etc:

zē'vi₊, *biē'vi₊*, which?
e'ma₊, *e'me₊*, which? < *e⁺ma₊*; these.
e'ki⁺ē, which?
ndie⁺u', *ndie⁺na'*, who? or *e'wu₊* (Kyi.).
mo'mo₊ or *mo⁺mo'*, *mo'mo' e₊*? < *mo⁺mo⁺*, or *mo₊mo₊* 2 *N.* 112.
ma'na₊, *mau' e₊*?
kwe', *kw⁺e'*, *e⁺kwe'*, where?
e⁺kwe₊ or *e⁺kw⁺e*, expression of dislike.

mo⁺nw⁺e', is it I? or *mo⁺no⁺ e_1?* < *mo_+no^+*, or *mo'no_+*.
nti' w⁺e'?
ngu_+lu_+ kwe' ze⁺na_1?

c) With the negation *ka-ko:*

ku⁺be⁺ki_+ nla⁺ngu⁺ kw⁺ e_1?
ka⁺ bia⁺ ko_+ e_1?
kia⁺ ko_+? (Kyi.).

V. Pitch in Word-formation.

In Verb-forming.

With Definitive Suffixes.

104. In verbs formed with definite suffixes the root-pitch does not change in a careful pronunciation.

In verbs with a falling intonation all the syllables (Cf. 105) have the same pitch as the root-syllable. When the derivative is polysyllabic, the pitch often falls to a semi-high pitch.

In verbs with a rising intonation the ultima as a rule has a semi-high pitch. The other syllables have the same semi-low pitch as the root.

ko'mbi'la', *ko'mbi'sa'*, *ko'mbu'la'*, *ko'mbu'zu'la'* < *k⁺o'mba_+*.
$bo_+ngi_+la^+$, *$bo_+ngi_+sa^+$*, *$bo_+ngu_+la^+$* < *bo⁺nga'*. Cf. *N.* 160—162.

105. The pitch of the definite sufixes does not vary much. The ultima is often pronounced with strong stress and sometimes somewhat higher, though the verb has a high or a semi-high ground-pitch. If the root-pitch is pronounced rising, the ultima loses its higher pitch and stronger stress.

Verbs, which have a rising intonation, always have an ultima with higher pitch and strong stress, if the root is not strongly stressed.

In verbs which express movement, the verbs often have a higher key:

la⁺ku⁺mu⁺na' bio_1, scatter them far away.

Cf. *N.* 142—159 and notice the small variations of $^1/_4$ and $^1/_2$ tone etc.

fw$_+$a$^+$ > fw$^+$a$_+$nga$^+$.	*bwa$^+$ > bw$_+$a$^+$nga$^+$.*
ta$^{\shortmid}$la$_+$ > ta$^+$la$_+$nga$^+$.	*se$_+$ha$^+$ > se$_+$ha$_+$nga$^+$.*
ba$^{\shortmid}$ka$_+$ > ba$^+$ka$^+$ma$^+$.	*ka$_+$ba$^+$ > ka$_+$ba$_+$ma$^+$.*
k$^+$a$^{\shortmid}$nga$_+$ > ka$^+$nga$^+$ma$^+$.	*ka$^+$nga$^{\shortmid}$ > ka$_+$nga$_+$ma$^+$.*
te$^+$ta$^+$ > te$^+$ta$^+$ka$^+$na$^+$.	*na$_+$ta$^+$ > na$_+$ta$_+$ka$_+$na$^+$.*
ya$^+$nga$^+$la$^+$la$^+$.	*yi$_+$ta$_+$la$_+$la$^+$.*

106. The tense-pitch of derived verbs follows the rules of the primitive verbs according to the character and the pitch of the suffixes.

In trisyllabic verbs with a falling and level intonation the ultima falls somewhat in the third pers. of the perfect and loses its strong secondary stress.

In verbs with a rising intonation the ultima generally has a somewhat higher pitch and strong stress. Cf. *c.* As for the preterit perfect, see 97, 5. Cf. also 86, 5 and 96. As for the variations in stress and pitch of the nasals, see 2 *N.*

a) Verbs with passive meaning.

1 P. *mbe$^+$ko$_+$*, 2 *N.* 147.	*n$^{\shortmid}$ke$^{\prime}$bo$^+$*, 2 *N.* 176.
3 P. *be$^{\shortmid}$ko$^+$*, 148.	*ke$^{\prime}$bo$^+$.*
1 P. *mpē$^{\shortmid}$ko$^+$*, 2 *N.* 162.	*n$^{\shortmid}$kē$^{\prime}$to$^+$.*
3 P. *pē$^{\shortmid}$ko$^+$* 163.	*kē$^{\prime}$to$^+$.*
3 P. *wa$^+$ba$_{\shortmid}$ku$_{\shortmid}$*, *N.* 201.	*wa$_+$tu$^{\prime}$tu$_+$*, *N.* 211.
3 P. *wa$^+$ba$_{\shortmid}$ku$_{\shortmid}$lu$_{\shortmid}$.*	*wa$_+$tu$^{\prime}$tu$_+$lu$_+$.*

b) Active verbs with applicative meaning.

Pret.	1 P. *ya$^{\shortmid}$ko$^+$mbi$^+$la$^+$,*	*ya$^{\shortmid\shortmid}$bo$^{\shortmid}$ngi$^{\shortmid}$la$^{\shortmid}$.*
	3 P. *wa$^{\shortmid}$ko$^+$mbi$_+$la$_+$,*	*wa$^{\shortmid\shortmid}$bo$^{\shortmid}$ngi$^{\shortmid}$la$^{\shortmid}$.*
Fut.	1 P. *yā$^{\shortmid}$ko$^+$mbi$^+$la$^+$,*	*ya$^+$bo$^+$ngi$^+$la$^{\shortmid}$.*
Perf.	1 P. *nko$^+$mbe$^+$le^{++}*, cf. 2 *N.* 140.	*mbo$^{\prime}$nge$^+$le$^+$*, cf. 2 *N.* 169.
	3 P. *ko$^+$mbe$^+$le$_+$*, 142.	*bo$^{\prime}$nge$^+$le$^+$*, 171.
	1 P. *mba$^+$ki$^+$di^{++}*, 2 *N.* 140.	*nka$^{\prime}$bi$^+$di$^+$*, 2 *N.* 169.
	2 P. *ba$^+$ki$^+$di$^+$*, 141.	*ka$^{\shortmid}$bi$^{\shortmid}$di$^+$*, 170.
	3 P. *ba$^+$ki$^+$di$_+$*, 142.	*ka$^{\prime}$bi$^+$di$^+$*, 171.
	1 P. *ya$^{\shortmid}$ba$^+$ki$_+$di$^{\shortmid}$*, 2 *N.* 145.	*ya$^{\shortmid}$ka$^{\shortmid-}$bi$^+$di$^+$*, 2 *N.* 174.
	3 P. *wa$^{\shortmid}$ba$^+$ki$_+$di$_+$*, 146.	*wa$^{\shortmid}$ka$^{\shortmid-}$bi$^+$di$^{\shortmid-}$* 175.

fwi$^{\shortmid}$di$^{\shortmid}$ or *fwi$^{\shortmid}$di$^{\shortmid}$di$^{\shortmid-}$*, appl. < *fwa$^+$ > fwi$^{\shortmid}$di$^+$*, he has died.

c) Passive verbs with applicative meaning.

1 P.	*mba'ku'-lu'-* 2 *N.* 149.	*nka'bu'lu'*, 2 *N.* 177.	
3 P.	*ba'-ku'lu'-*, 250.	*ka'bu'lu'+*, 178.	
1 P.	*mpa'ku+lu+*, 2 *N.* 164.	*n'tu'tu'lu'*.	
3 P.	*pa'ku'lu'-*, 165.	*tu'tu'lu'+*.	

d) Verbs with other suffixes have the same pitch as the verbs under *supra b.*

Pret.	1 P.	*twabakana*,	*twakabana.*
	3 P.	*babakana*,	*bakabana.*
Futur.		*twabakana*,	*twakabana.*
Perf.	1 P.	*tubakane*,	*tukabane.*
	3 P.	*babakane*,	*bakabane.*
Perf.	1 P.	*nkangamene* < *ka'nga'ma'*,	*nkangamene* < *ka+nga+ma+.*
	3 P.	*kangamene*,	*kangamene.*
Perf.	1 P.	*yakangama*,	*yakangama.*
	3 P.	*wakangama*,	*wakangama.*

With Indefinite Suffixes.

107. Verbs formed with indefinite suffixes as a rule have a semi-low ground-pitch, provided the meaning of the verb does not require a high root-pitch.

a) Verbs with *-ta*, which actually are compound verbs (the primitive verb + *ta*), always have strong stress on *ta*. Most of these verbs have a semi-low root-pitch.

zu+ngu+ta+, to boom,
yebita, tv be green.
yimita, to be pregnant,
yubata, to ooze out.
yukuta, to be satisfied,
zangata, to be glad.
ziabata, to walk in mire.

Some of these have have a high root-pitch on account of their meaning.

ko'nku'ta', to knock.
kwalata, to scratch.
viekita, to tie hard, (*ve+ki+ta+*, to be green).
kwedikita, to crunch.

b) Verbs with *-nga* generally express a movement and have a rising intonation (= semi-low root-pitch).

su₊di₊ngaˈ, to limp.
vudunga, to splash.
zukunga, to ripple.
vwadanga, to walk in a rolling manner > *vwadungu*, duck.

c) Verbs with various suffixes denoting different kinds of movement as a rule have a rising intonation.

wa₊la₊ka₊saˈ, *fwasabala*, to rustle.
sansala, *bumbula*, *sosukuta*, to reel, to stagger.
kunkuma, *kunkama*, to tremble.
ledima, to carry something well.
kundubula, to walk heavily.
valaba, *valabata*, *valakata*, to climb up <*va₊la* to ascend >*ki₊va₊laˈ*, wood-lizard.
tiela, *tianza*, *tanda*, *taza*, *tiaza* a. o. to put, to lay in a row.
piata, *piala*, *piada*, to lick.
pedima, *vezima* a. o. to shine, to glitter.
pala, *puda*, *pula*, *panga*, to carry something dangling.

d) Verbs with various suffixes denoting a harsh sound, a rattle, and so on, have a high root-pitch:

buˈmbuˈluˈkuˈtaˈ, *bumbukuta*, to rattle in a muffled way.
penzingila, to rattle loudly.

e) Verbs with *-na* have as a rule a rising intonation: *ma₊naˈ*, to end; *na₊naˈ*, to stretch out a. o.; but: — *moˈna₊*, to see.

With Reduplication.

108. Reduplicative verbs formed from verbs with a rising intonation have a falling intonation in the first element and retain the rising intonation in the second. Verbs which have a falling intonation retain this, but the second element is always pronounced in a lower key. In inflection the pitch is modified according to the tense-pitch.

Verbs which are reduplicated in order to express emphasis, a stronger sound, etc., are pronounced in a high key and with the same intonation in both elements.

As for reduplicative nouns derived from verbs, see 120, 121.

bŏ´nga₊-bo₊ngaˈ < *boˈngaˈ* > *bo₊ngaˈ-bo´nga₊*, *di-*, a desire to take.
yaˈboˈnga₊-boˈngaˈ, I took.
yaˈboˈngaˈ-bo₊ngaˈ, I shall take.
mbo´ngeˈleˈ-mbo´nge₊le₊, I have taken.

kă'nga$_{+}$*-ka*$^{+}$*nga*$_{\downarrow}$ < *k*$^{+}$*a'nga*$_{+}$ etc.
dwe'di'ba$_{+}$*-dwe'di'ba*$_{+}$, imitation of quick walk < *dwe*$_{+}$*di*$_{+}$*ba*$^{+}$.

In Noun-forming.

With Nasal-Prefixes.

109. The nasal-prefixes, like other class-prefixes, have a semi-low or low pitch. The nasal prefix with *u*-quality has a full tone and an audible pronunciation as opposed to those with *i*-quality, which are almost void of tone and an audible pronunciation before a voiceless consonant. The pitch of the nasal prefixes with *u*-quality in a falling intonation is intoned and rising. It is pronounced through the nose and imparts its pitch to the following voiced consonant, and the voiceless consonants are pronounced without emphasis or aspiration as opposed to the pitch of the nasal prefix with *i*-quality, which imparts a strong emphasis or aspiration to the following consonant. In certain dialects this nasal is altogether lost. The remaining consonant then has a still more emphatic pronunciation or as in the case of *k*, *t*, *p*, a strengthened aspiration.

In dialects, where *m*, *n* retain their old form *mu*, *mi*, they have semi-low or low pitch and exercise no influence on the pitch or consonant. As for the gliding character and the very short pronunciation of these and other prefixes in certain cases, see 20, 126.

110. a) *Nasals with u-quality.* Nomina agentis (nouns in *-are* in Swedish, *-er* in English) are as a rule formed by a nasal with *u*-quality. In dialects they are formed by *mu* or *ki*. Nouns derived from verbs with a level or rising intonation often have a higher key.

The prefix-pitch is lower, but the nasal-pitch is rising, so as to coalesce, together with the following consonant, with the root-pitch.

Ki (in dialects) has a higher pitch than *mu*. Cf. 2 *N.* 8. In a rising intonation the nasal pitch is sometimes somewhat higher than the root-pitch. (2 *N.* 14). Cf. the examples under 112 with *i*-qualified nasal.

m^{+}*be'di*$_{\downarrow}$, (or $^{+\,'}{}_{+}$) *mi-*, *mu*$_{\downarrow}$*be'-di*$_{\downarrow}$, *ki'be'di*$_{+}$ one that loses < *be'-la*$_{+}$, to lose.

mbe'la$_{\downarrow}$, *zi-*, act of losing.

n^{+}*ke'di*$_{+}$, *mi-*, < *ke'la*$_{+}$, to strain,

m$^{'-}$*be*$^{+}$*di'*, *mi-*, *mu*$^{+}$*be*$^{+}$*di'*, *ki*$^{+}$*-be*$^{+}$*di'* one that hates < *be*$_{+}$*la*, to hate.

mbe$_{+}$*la'*, *zi-*, act of hating.

n$^{'-}$*ke*$^{+}$*di'*, *mi-*, < *ke*$_{+}$*la*, to slander.

nkhe'la$_{\downarrow}$, *zi-*, case, box,

nke$_{+}$*la'*, *zi-*, act of slandering.

M^{+}*bi'*, a person or name, the Evil One.

n'-la^{+}*ndi'*, *mi-*, *nda*$_{+}$*nda'*, but: — *nda´ndu*$_{+}$ (see 118) < *la*$^{+}$*nda'*, to follow.

mbi', *zi-*, malice,

m̄$^{+}$*o'ni*$_{\downarrow}$, *mbo'na*$_{\downarrow}$, < *mo'na*$_{+}$, to look,

m^{+}*bē'do*$^{+}$, *mi-*, sick person, < *bē*$^{+}$*la*$^{+}$.

n^{+}*kwe'di'* or *n*$^{+}$*kwe'di*$^{+}$, < *kwe*$^{+}$*la*$^{+}$.

nsu'bu'di', *mi-*, < *su'bula*, *nsu*$^{+}$*ku*$^{+}$*di'*, *mi-*, < *su*$_{+}$*kula*.

n^{+}*di'e*$^{+}$ or *n*$^{+}$*die'*, *mi-; die*$^{+}$, *bi-*, a larva < *dia*$^{+}$.

n^{+}*te'* or *nte'*, *mi-; te*$^{+}$, *bi-*, < *ta*$^{+}$, to say, to sting.

m^{+}*fwe'*, *mi-; fwe*$^{+}$, *bi-*, < *fwa*$^{+}$, to die.

Note. Other nouns, formed in the same way, sometimes have a falling intonation: *mvwa'tu*$_{+}$, *mi-*, dress, clothes < *vwa*$^{+}$*ta*$^{+}$, to dress. Likewise in order to distinguish such words from others of the same stem: *n*$^{+}$*di'a*$^{+}$, *mi-*, entestines; *ndia*$^{+}$, act of eating < *dia*$^{+}$; *fwa'nga*$_{\downarrow}$, *bi-*, inferior pea-nut unfit for sowing < *fwa*$^{+}$*nga*$^{+}$ < *fwa*$^{+}$, to die.

b) When names of trees and their fruit are formed by a nasal prefix, the name of the tree as a rule has nasal with *u*-quality with its characteristic pitch and the name of the fruit has nasal with *i*-quality:

n^{+}*sa'fu*$_{+}$, *mi-*, a tree, *ntsa'fu*$_{\downarrow}$, *zi-*, its fruit.

m^{+}*bi'di*$_{+}$, *mi-*, a tree, *mbi'di*$_{\downarrow}$, *zi-*, its fruit.

m̄$^{+}$*a´nga*$_{+}$ or *m̄*$_{+}$*a*$_{+}$*nga*$^{+}$, *mi-*, a tree, *ma´nga*$_{+}$, *bi-*, its fruit.

ma$_{+}$*nga*$^{+}$, *bi-*, a miracle.

Note. Nouns of the *mi*-class, which begin with a nasal, may be marked *m̄*, *n̄*, or written with two nasals: *n̄*$^{+}$*ie´nge*$_{+}$ or *nnienge*, sand; *n̄*$^{+}$*wa'*, *mi-*, mouth; *n̄*$^{+}$*we'*, *mi-*, < *nwa*, to drink; but:— *n*$^{+}$*we'* < *wa*$^{+}$, to hear, and *m*$_{+}$*vu'*, *mi-*, year; *m*$_{+}$*vu*$^{+}$, *zi-*, hair.

c) From the numerals *mosi*, *zole*, *tatu*, *tanu* nouns of the *mi*-class are formed: *m̄*$^{+}$*o´si*$_{+}$, *n*$^{+}$*zo´le*$_{+}$, *n*$^{+}$*ta´tu*$_{+}$, *n*$^{+}$*ta´nu*$_{+}$.

In counting, they are formed according to the *zi*-class: *mo´si*$_{+}$, *nzo´le*$_{+}$, *ntha´tu*$_{+}$, *ntha´nu*$_{+}$. In dialects also *bi*$^{+}$*ta´tu*$_{+}$ etc. Cf. 3 *N.* 7—25.

111. *Nasals with i-quality.* In nouns, which are not formed from verbs, nasal prefixes with *i*-quality are almost inaudible. See 110, 112. As for pronunciation, cf. also 49.

Several nouns, formed from verbs, have changed their rising intonation into falling on account of their new meaning. See 118.

112. a) The following examples show what variations in pitch a noun can be subject to, when it is formed with a nasal with *i*-quality. Cf. 110, a, b, c.

mbe'la$_+$, *zi-*, act of losing, *mbe*$_+$*la'*, *zi-*, act of hating.
mbe'lo'lo', *zi-* < *be'la*$_+$, *mbe*$_+$*lo*$_+$*lo*$^+$, *zi-* < *be*$_+$*la*.
mbe'la$_+$, *zi-*, border, edge,

Note 1. K, p, t are very little aspirated before a semi-low root-pitch:

nkhe'la$_+$, act of straining, *nke*$_+$*la'*, *zi-*,
nkhe'lo'lo', *zi-*, *nke*$_+$*lo*$_+$*lo*$^+$, *zi-*, < *ke*$_+$*la*, to slander.
ke'lo'lo', *bi-*, a strainer < *ke'la*$_+$.
nthu$^+$*la*$^+$, *nthu*$^+$*lu*$^+$*lu*$^+$ < *tū*$^+$-*la*$^+$, *ntu*$_+$*ta'*, *ntu*$_+$*tu*$_+$*lu*$^+$ < *tū*$_+$*ta*.
mpha'mba', *mpha'mbu'nu'* < *ha'mba'na'*, *mpa*$_+$*mu*$_+$*na*$^+$, < *ha*$_+$*mu*$_+$*na*$^+$.

Note 2. In Kingoyi and other dialects the nasal with *i*-quality is often superseded by *mu*, but the pitch is the same: *mu'ba'ku'lu'* < *ba'ka*$_+$, *mu*$_+$*ka*$_+$*bu*$_+$*lu*$^+$ < *ka*$_+$*ba*$^+$.

b) Nouns formed from reciprocal verbs, have their intonation changed, when the primitive verb has a rising intonation.

nkhe'la'ni' < *ke'lana* < *ke'la*$_+$, to strain. *nkhe'la*$_+$*ni*$_+$ < *ke*$_+$*la*$_+$*na*$^+$ < *ke*$_+$-*la*, to slander.
nthu$^+$*la*$^+$*ni*$^+$ < *tū*$^+$*la*$^+$, *nthu'ta*$_+$*ni*$_+$ < *tū*$_+$*ta*.
mpha'mba'ni' < *va'mbana* >
mpha'mbu'su'nu'. *mpha'ma*$_+$*sa*$_+$*ni*$_+$.

c) Many nouns, which differ in meaning from the verbs they are derived from, retain their intonation, when the characteristic meaning of the verb is retained in the noun. The root-pitch is the same, but the root has stronger stress than in the verb, so that the ultima sometimes loses its secondary stress.

n$^+$*tsó'ku'sa'*, *ba-*, weaver-bird < *só'ku'sá'*, prattle as those,
ntsi'ngu'ku', *zi-*, support < *si'ngika*, to support.
ndu'la'ka'ni$_+$, a boil < *lu'lakana*, to swell.
mu$_1$*n*$^+$*te'lu'la'*, pot < *te'lula* (Kyi.).
mu'ngie$_+$*nda*$^+$ or *mungienda*$_+$*nga*$^+$, long-stemmed potato.
mu'ngi$_+$*zi*$_+$*la*$^+$, stranger, < *kwi*$_+$*za*$^+$.
mu'mpo$_+$*ti*$_+$*la*$^+$, pot < *ho*$_+$*ta*$^+$ (Kyi.).

d) A noun formed from another noun by nasal with *i*-quality, retains the intonation of the primitive word:

ndi´nga$_{+}$, voice < *di´nga*$_{+}$, throat, Cf. 2 *N.* 13.

e) The ground-pitch in nouns of *mi-* and *zi*-class can often vary considerably as appears from the rules in section II. Cf. 53, b *note:*

nkhwe^{+}*zi*$^{\backslash}$, *zi-*, brother-in-law;
n^{+}*kwe*$^{\backslash}$*zi*$^{\backslash}$, *mi-*, parents-in-law;
n^{+}*kwe*$^{++}$*di*$^{+}$, *mi-*, (< *kwela*) 2 *N.* 3, married man, one that gives away in marriage.

With other Simple Class-Prefixes.

113. The rest of the simple (not nasal) class-prefixes generally have a lower pitch than the root-pitch and exercise no influence on the pitch in the formation of nouns from verbs. As a rule the noun retains the same intonation as the form from which it is derived.

lu$_{+}$*zu*$^{\backslash}$*ngu*$^{\backslash}$*lu*$^{\backslash}$, ring, periphery < *z*$^{+}$*u*$^{\backslash}$*nga*$_{+}$.
lu$_{+}$*zu*$_{\backslash}$*ngu*$_{+}$*lu*$^{+}$, tormenting < *zu*$_{+}$*ngu*$_{+}$*la*$^{+}$, to torment.
ko$^{\backslash}$*vo*$^{\backslash}$, *ko*$^{\backslash}$*vo*$^{\backslash}$*lo*$^{\backslash}$, *bi-*, < *ko*$^{\backslash}$*vu*$^{\backslash}$*la*$^{\backslash}$, to cough.
lu$_{+}$*ko*$_{+}$*mbo*$^{+}$, mashing-iron < *ko*$^{+}$*mba*$^{\backslash}$.
ko$^{\backslash}$*mbo*$^{\backslash}$*lo*$^{\backslash}$, *bi-*, a boom < *k*$^{+}$*o*$^{\backslash}$*mba*$_{+}$.
zo$_{+}$*ngo*$^{+}$, *zo*$_{+}$*ngo*$_{+}$*lo*$^{+}$, *bi-*, measure < *zo*$^{+}$*nga*$^{\backslash}$.
bwe^{+}*to*$^{+}$*lo*$^{+}$, *bi-*, pair of tongs, pincers < *bwe*$^{+}$*ta*$^{+}$.
ko$^{\backslash}$*ki*$^{\backslash}$*la*$^{\backslash}$, *bi-*, child with weak legs < *ko*$^{\backslash}$*ka*$_{+}$ >
ko$^{\backslash}$*ka*$_{\backslash}$, *bi-*, cock of gun.
ko$^{\backslash}$*ko*$^{\backslash}$*lo*$^{\backslash}$, traces of something.
ko^{+}*ka*$^{+}$, *ma-*, peanuts that are sparsely grown < *kō*$^{+}$*ka*$^{+}$.

Note. Nouns denoting instruments or with any other applicative meaning, have a stronger stress and occasionally somewhat higher ultima-pitch than the applicative verbs.

ko$^{\backslash}$*mbo*$^{\backslash}$*lo*$^{\shortparallel}$, *bwe*$^{+}$*to*$^{+}$*lo*$^{\backslash}$.

114. As a rule prefixes, which are used in order to form nouns from another noun, have higher pitch as soon as one wants to emphasize the quality or the action. The prefix then has stronger secondary stress and it lowers the pitch of the root, if the latter has a high or semi-high pitch. If it has a semi-low or low pitch, the root-pitch is retained, and the prefix has a modified pitch with

secondary stress. The change of the pitch is consequently almost the same as in the genitive.

The prefix *ba* or *zi* used in a collective sense can have a higher pitch with the same influence.

The verbal class-prefix *ku* in Bembe has no influence on the grave pitch. In Madzia and other dialects where the word has a rising intonation it becomes falling. In southern dialects, where *ku* is kept in the infinitive, it has no influence on the intonation.

Examples of formations from nouns with a *high* root-pitch:

ki'mfu+mu+, dignity of a chief, but:— *ki+mfu'mu,*, kingdom.
ki'mpe+ne+ < *mpe'ne,*.
ki'mpe+nza+ < *mp,e'nza,*, nakedness.
mu'nkã+nda,, a fall < *nk,a'nda,*, skin.
di+mbu,su,, a plant. Cf. *N.* 124.
di+nsu,su,, a plant < *nsu'su,*. Cf. *N.* 124.
di+ngwa,nzia,, a plant.
di+nga,nza,, *dindeso,* trichina.
mu'nko+mbo,, a plant. *N.* 122 < *nk,o'mbo,*.
ki'mpa+, *bi-*, a play, *bi'mpa+nti+*, an almond-fruit.
di'mpa+, *ma-*, bread.
ki'mpu+tu+, European < *Mpu'tu,*.
ki'mpa+la+, jealousy < *mpa'la,*, co-wife.
ma'n''te+la+, *bwa* ⁀, fall on ones face < *n+te'la,*, *mi-*, height.

Note. In nouns formed by prefix + nasal, the nasal often is pronounced with a rising pitch, in which case the root-pitch does not fall: *ki+m+fio'*, crop, craw.

If another prefix is added, the first one gets a high pitch and lowers the second: *ki'mu+nde,le,* < *mu'nde+le,*.

Examples of formations from monosyllables:

lu+ba', pl. *mba'* or *lu,ba'nga,*, pl. *mba'nga,* palm-nut < *ba'*, palm.

Examples of formations from nouns with a *semi-low* root-pitch:

a) With a prefix which has a *higher* pitch than the ground-pitch.

di'mbe+ke+te+, mumps < *be+ki+ta+*.
mu'nsu+nda+, pea-nut with one nut.
ki'mpe+nzi+, chimpanzee.
ki'mpa+lu+, *ki'mpa+ngu+la+*, miracle.
ki'mbi+ti+, frog.

ki'mfu+la+, cramp < *mfu+la+*, gunpowder.
ma'nte+, spittle.
di'ko+, *di'nko+ndo+*, *di+ko+nde+*, plantain. *N.* 92.
bu'mpo+mbo+ or *bu+mpo´mbo+*, meekness.
ki'mpu+mbu+lu+, cheating.

b) With a prefix which has a *lower* pitch than the ground-pitch.
ki +Mpo´di+, *ki+ Nza´mbi+*.
ki+mpu´mpa+, celibacy < *mpu´mpa+*.
ki+mpia´tu+, worm < *pia+tu+ka+*.
ma+bũ´nda, fold up < *bu+nda'*.

Examples with *ba:*
b+a'ngu+lu+ or *ba'ngu+lu+*, pig < *ngu+lu+*.
ba+su'ndi+, *ba+bwe'nde+*, *ba+ko'ngo+* (or with ´).
ba +Kio´nga+ < *Kio+nga+*, a name.
ba'nga+nga+ *ba+ Nza´mbi+*.

Examples with *ku:*
ku+l`a+nda+* < *l`a+nda+ (Be.), to follow.
ku+na+ta$_{II}$ < *na+ta+* (Mz.), to carry.
ku+kā+ta+ (Kyi.), to beat, to strike.

With Class-Prefix + Nasal-Prefix.

115. Nouns formed from verbs or nouns by class-prefix + nasal-prefix direct or indirect, follow the same rules as in the preceding paragraph. Compare examples of nouns formed from nouns.

ma'n"ta+di+, a guard, *n+ta'di*$_{I}$, *mi-*, < *ta'la+*.
mu'nsa+ka+ *mbu+*, a plant < *sa+ka+*.
ki'nta+la+ *yu'lu+*, a plantain, *nta'la+-nta+la*$_{I}$ < *ta'la+*, to see.
mu+nku+ba+ *mbu+*, a plant < *ku'ba+*.
lu'nta+nta+ < *ta'ta'ma'*.
lu'nta+-nta$_{I}$ or *lu'nta+nta*$_{I}$ < *ta+*.

With Suffixes.

116. Nouns and other substantival words are also formed by the addition of suffixes, which in dialects may vary considerably.

Such formations conform with the root-pitch as appears from the following examples:

lu$_{I}$*ba'nga*$_{I}$, pl. *mba'nga*$_{I}$ < *lu+ba'*, palm-kernel < *ba'*, palm.
ma'mpia+ka+, *ma'mpia+ta+*, *ma'mpia+*, a lie.
di'nko+ndo+, *di+ko+nde+*, *di'ko+* < *ko+* (or +), plantain.

With the Particle *na*.

117. The predicative particle *na*ˡ has a high pitch and stress with strong influence on the root-pitch and the intonation. In emphasis the intonation varies according to the intention of the speaker. Many of these words are figures of speech and the intonation may be distinctly falling in order to express a muffled sound, certain colours etc. or rapidly rising in order to express a shrill, high sound, and so on. Several of these are strengthened by the addition of suffixes whose ultimas often have secondary stress. These are pronounced almost like reduplicatives in two parts: *naˡbo´-to₊to₊*.

As for *na* with reduplicatives, see 120, 121. See also 74 and *N.* 134—141.

Examples of figures of speech and derivatives from words with a *semi-low* root-pitch:

naˡnkiˡo₊, bad smell.

naˡpi´ or *naˡpˡi₊*, *naˡpiu´*, also *naˡpiˡu₊* < *piu₊taˡ*, to be black, < *naˡpiu´tu₊tu₊*, *naˡpiu´ku₊ngu₊*.

naˡnzˡo₊, red. *N.* 134, but:— *naˡ⁺nzoˡ*, full to the brim, *N.* 137, < *zoˡnzuˡlaˡ*.

naˡyo´ki₊la₊, *naˡyo´ki₊di₊ka₊*, smarting feeling.

naˡngwi´ or *naˡngwˡi₊*, firm, *naˡngwi´nda₊* *naˡngwi´ndi₊ki₊di₊*.

naˡmpwˡe₊ or *naˡve´*, *naˡvˡe₊*, *naˡve´te₊te₊*, white.

naˡnyˡo₊, *nandio*, *nanzio*, *nauzu*, diving down.

naˡsio´ or *naˡsiˡo₊*, lean, thin, *naˡsio´no₊*, *naˡsio´lo₊lo₊*, (*naˡsioˡloˡlóˡ⁻*, *naˡsiuˡluˡlúˡ⁻*, bitter) *naˡsio´to₊to₊*.

naˡsio´no₊, < *sio₊nu₊ka⁺*, to make a slip.

naˡlˡo₊, dark < *lo⁺mbaˡ* < *naˡlo´lo₊vi₊*.

naˡba´nda₊, dark < *ba₊nda₊ka₊na⁺*.

naˡyˡe₊mbe₊le₊, gloomy, dreary < *ye₊mba₊na⁺*.

naˡyi´ndi₊ndi₊, full of shame < *yi₊nda₊la₊la⁺*.

nayembembe, cloudy, gloomy.

nabokongo, gray (about earth etc.).

nayokongo (Mz.), dark outside.

natunia < *tu₊nia⁺*, to be white.

nabumbulu, gray < *bu₊mbuluka*.

navudila, plenty of hair, grass < *vu₊dila*.

nabototo, humid < *bo₊tumuka*. *N.* 139.

nabododo, rotten < *bo₊la*.

nabididi, red. < *bi₊lumuka*.

nafindibidi, *nafundungu* or *nafundanga*, to be blunt, stubbed.

naswetete, *nazikalakani*, hungry, lean, thin.

nayelele (Mz.) to be greedy, not want to give.

Examples of figures of speech and derivatives from words with a *high* root-pitch:

ná'lu' or *na'lú'⁻*, flop down on the ground. *N.* 136, 137.
na'bu' or *na'bu'⁻*, very early.
na'yu', *na'yu'tu'tu'⁻*, < *yu'tumuka*, to have plenty to do, come unexpectedly.
nayalala, droughty.
nanzo, *nayo*, *naya*, *nayayila*, full to the brim.
nayabala-yabala, to be wide open (about mouth etc.).
nawongobodi, big, wide round pit, mouth etc. < *wo'ngubula*, to make wide.
nakwambala, *nakwambadi*, hard and dry.
na'ko'lo'ko'lo'⁻, *nakelekele*, *N.* 141, but:— *na'ke⁺le⁺ke₊le₁*, a deaf rattle crunching sound of a rat < *ke₊di₊ta⁺*, to crunch, *na'ke⁺le⁺ke₊se₁*, *N.* 138, *nayelekese* (Kyi.).
natindibidi, sound of something jumping, but:— *na'ti´ndi₊bi₊di₊*, cold.
nakonzongolo, *nabenzengele*, rattling, *N.* 141.
nasenzebele, flat, even.

With Changed Intonation.

118. Nouns formed from verbs with a semi-low root-pitch, change their intonation from rising to falling, when their meaning is to be strongly emphasized. The root-syllable then has an acute pitch.

In dialects some of these words retain their root-pitch and rising intonation. Nouns formed from verbs with a high or semi-high root-pitch, seldom change their intonation.

Examples of formations of nouns from verbs with a *rising* intonation:

ndo´ngi₊, *zi-*, *lo´ngi₁*, *di-*, chastisement, knowledge; *n'⁻lo⁺ngi'*, *mi-*, (Mz.), *mu⁺lo´ngi₊* (Kyi.), teacher < *lo⁺nga'*.
nda´ndu₊, wages, profit < *la⁺nda'*, to follow.
ki⁺nki´ndu₊ or *ki'nki₊ndu⁺*, somersault < *ki₊ndula*.
ki⁺nze´mba₊ < *z₊emba*, *ze₊mbalala*, to hang.
n⁺lo´mbe₊, *mi-*, *mu⁺lo´mbe₊* (Kyi.), a black person; *ndo´mbe₊* < *lo⁺mba'*.
kintona, comprehensibility < *to₊na*, *tonwa*.

tiasu, *bi-*, strip $<tia_{+}suna$.
ziami, *bi-*, cemetery $<zia_{+}ma$.
mbwaki, red $<bwa_{+}ka >bwa'ka_{+}$-$bwa'ka_{+}$, chanterelle.
Mpodi, a fetish $<vo_{+}la$, but:— $lu_{+}vo_{+}la^{+}$, trail in the grass, $ki_{+}vo_{+}la^{+}\ ma_{+}mbu_{+}$.
mambunda, bundle together $<bu^{+}nda^{\downarrow}$.
luzo'lo or *luzo*$_{+}$*lo*, will $<zo_{+}la$, to have a will.
di'zi, *ki-*, or *di*$_{+}$*zi*, lamentation $<di_{+}la$.
ndu'ta or *nlu*$_{+}$*ta*, *mi-*, gain $<lu_{+}ta$.
mbindu, *zi-*, fence, but:— $ki_{+}bi_{+}ndu^{+} <bi_{+}nda^{+}$, $bi_{+}ndika$.
mpeve, wind, or in dial. $mpe_{+}ve^{+} <ve_{+}va$, but:— $ma_{+}ve_{+}va^{+}$, grass generally, $mpe_{+}volo$, waft, breath of air.
ndukuta, *ndukutila*, perspiration, $<lu_{+}kuta$, or.
ndu$_{+}$*ngutila*, *diu*$_{+}$*ngutila*, *kiu*$_{+}$*ngila*, close heat $<yu_{+}ngila$.

Note. Many such nouns, which have another meaning, often retain their intonation:

$nka_{+}ku^{+}$, *zi-*, shield $<ka_{+}ka^{+}$; $Dia_{+}lu^{+}$, a fetish $<dia_{+}ta^{+}$ etc.

Examples of formations of nouns from verbs with a *falling* and *level* intonation, see 110, a, *note*. As for names, see 119.

In Proper Names.

119. The formation of proper names varies much both with regard to pitch and to form. The majority however follow the rule given in 118. Those which are formed by the genitive, follow the rule of the genitive-pitch. Honorary particles and prefixes in names are modified according to the root-pitch.

Simple Names.

In genitive:
$Dia^{\downarrow}mbwi^{+}la^{+} <bwi^{+}la^{+}$, to fall for.
$Ma^{+}mwi'ni_{+} <mw_{+}i'ni_{\downarrow}$, mambu implied.
$Ma^{+}ts\bar{a}'da <ts\bar{a}_{+}da^{+}$, » »

With prefixes:
$Ba^{+}mwa'nga_{+} <mwa^{+}nga^{\downarrow}$, to spread.
$Ba^{+}fwi'ka_{+} <fwi^{+}ka^{\downarrow}$, to award, to impart.
$Ba^{+}bu^{+}ta^{+}nga^{+} <bu^{\downarrow}ta_{+}$, to bear.
$M_{+}pu^{\downarrow}ya^{\downarrow} <vu^{+}ya^{+}$.
$Bi_{+}to^{\downarrow}la^{\downarrow}$, $<to^{+}la^{+}$, to name, to repeat.
$Ba^{\downarrow}te_{+}ka_{+} <te^{\downarrow}ka_{+}$, to sell.
$Lu^{+}zi'bu_{+}$, $Nzi'bu <zi_{+}bula$, to open.

Ndu´ndi₊la₊ < *lu⁺nda'*, to hide.
Yã´ndu₊ka₊ < *ya₊nduka*, to be warm.

With the particle *na:*

Na'to´na₊, *Ki⁺to´na₊*, a clan < *to₊na.*
Na'mba´zi₊ < *mba₊zi⁺* or *mba´zi₊*, outside.
Na'yo´ka₊ < *yo₊ka*, to burn.
Na'mbo´ko₊ < *bo₊kula nkuni.*

With the honorary particles *na*, *ma*, *mi:*

Na⁺ma⁺tsa´da₊ < *tsa₊da*, to spread.
Na⁺ngu´nga₊, *Na'ngu₊nga⁺* < *ngu₊nga⁺*, bell.
Na⁺nki´bi₊ < *ki₊ba*, to wander.
Mi⁺ngŏ´nda₊ < *ngo₊nda⁺*, moon.
Mi⁺sa'ka' < *sa'ka₊*, to grow up.
Ma⁺ndo´mbe₊ < *lo⁺mba'*, to be dark.
Ma⁺nkhu´nki₊ < *nkhu´nki₊*, hunch.
Ma₊ko'la' < *kō⁺la⁺*, to take off.
Ma₊via'ngu', < *via'nguka*, to be quick.
Ma₊ki'tu', < *ki'tuka*, to change.

With negation:

Ka⁺nia´ki₊ < *nia₊ka*, to recover.
Ka'ta⁺mbu₁ < *t⁺a'mba₊*, to cook.

With an unchanged rising intonation:

Nswa⁺mi' < *swa⁺ma'*, to hide.
Nse⁺nda' < *se⁺nda'*, to reward.
Nlo⁺mbo' < *lo⁺mba'*, to be dark.
Ma'yo₊ka⁺, *Na'ma'yo₊ka⁺* < *yo₊ka⁺*, to burn, but:— *na'yo´ko₊*, when *na* is a predicative particle.

From the Bwende dialect:

Y'ā₊ Ki₊hu´ku₁ < *ki₁hu´ku₁₁*, frog.
Y'a₊ Kio⁺nga' < *Kio⁺nga'*, a name.
Mw'ē₊ K.
M'ā₊ K.

Compound Names:

Ka₊za⁺ Ngu₊lu₊, to eat pig.
Lute'te₊ nto₊ko₊ < *nto₊ko*, good looking L.
Mwã´na₊ nga₊ngu₊ < *nga₊ngu⁺*, the very cunning fellow.
Nza'nga₁ to₊ko₊, the tall fine fellow.
Mba₊ta' me₊nga₊ < *me₊nga⁺*, blood.

Du´ma$_+$ *nka´zi*$_{\backslash}$ $<$*du*$_+$*ma*, be known to his wives.
Ntu$^{\backslash}$ *mu*$^+$*ntu*$_+$ $<$*mu*$_+$*ntu*, name of nsafu-tree.
Ma$^+$*ze*$^+$*nga*$^{\backslash}$ *nle*$^{\backslash}$*mbo*$_{\backslash}$, an ant.

In Reduplicatives.

In Reduplicative nouns formed from verbs.

120. Reduplicative nouns, formed from verbs with a *falling* or *level* intonation are as a rule pronounced almost uninterruptedly with a nearly level intonation and stress, whereas the second element has a lower key. Cf. 121.

Reduplicatives from polysyllabic verbs are pronounced with a still more level intonation.

The first element is often combined with the particle *na*, which weakens the pitch and stress of the root-syllable. A long root-vowel becomes short.

From dissyllabic verbs:

ke$^{\backslash}$*di*$^{\backslash}$-*ke*$^+$*di*$_+$ or *na*$^{\backslash}$*ke*$^+$*di*$^+$-*ke*$_+$*di*$_+$ $<$*ke*$^{\backslash}$*la*, but:— *na*$^{\backslash}$*ke´di*$_+$-*ke´di*$_+$, subtle $<$*ke*$_+$*di*$_+$*ma*$^+$.
tu$^{\backslash}$*di*$^{\backslash}$-*tu*$^+$*di*$_+$ or *natudi-tudi* $<$*tulama* $<$*tū*$^+$*la*$>$
na$^{\backslash}$*tu*$^{\backslash}$*lu*$^+$-*tu*$_+$*lu*$_+$.
de$^{\backslash}$, *de*$^{\backslash}$*de*$^{\backslash}$ or *na*$^{\backslash}$*de*$^{\backslash}$*de*$_+$, *na*$^{\backslash}$*de*$^{\backslash}$*de*$^{\backslash}$*de*$_+$ $<$*de*$^+$*dakana*.

From polysyllabic verbs:

ha$^{\backslash}$*mbu*$^{\backslash}$-*ha*$^+$*mbu*$^+$ or *na*$^{\backslash}$*ha*$^{\backslash}$*mbu*$^{\backslash}$-*ha*$^+$*mbu*$^+$ $<$*ha*$^{\backslash}$*mba*$^{\backslash}$*na*$^{\backslash}$.
ki$^{\backslash}$*tu*$^{\backslash}$-*ki*$^+$*tu*$^+$, *Ma*$^+$*ki*$^{\backslash}$*tu*$^{\backslash}$, a name; *na*$^{\backslash}$*ki*$^+$*tu*$^+$ $<$*ki*$^{\backslash}$*tuka*, *kitumuka*.
ho$^{\backslash}$*bo*$^{\backslash}$-*ho*$^+$*bo*$^+$, full of holes $<$*ho*$^{\backslash}$*bula*, to make holes.
na$^{\backslash}$*mba*$^+$*ti*$^+$-*mba*$^+$*ti*$^+$, also *ki*$^{\backslash}$*mba*$^+$-*ki*$^{\backslash}$*mba*$^+$ $<$*ba*$^{\backslash}$*takana*, to be near.

121. Reduplicative nouns, formed from verbs with a *rising* intonation, change this into a falling one in both elements. The two elements are pronounced with an acute pitch and have strong stress on the root-syllable, almost as if they were separate words. Cf. 120.

These reduplicatives can also be combined with the particle *na:*

ke´di$_+$-*ke´di*$_+$ or *na*$^{\backslash}$*ke´di*$_+$-*ke´di*$_+$ bright-eyed, deep $<$*ke*$_+$*dima*.
tutu-tutu $<$*tū*$_+$*ta* $>$ *na*$^{\backslash}$*tu´tu*$_+$, act of crushing.
pamu-pamu $<$*pa*$_+$*muka* $>$ *na*$^{\backslash}$*pa´mu*$_+$, act of startling.
pa´ngi$_+$*di*$_+$-*pa´ngi*$_+$*di*$_+$, unquiet $<$*pa*$_+$*nga*.

na'le´nge$_+$-le´nge$_+$, dark < *le$_+$ngama*, to be dark, but:—
na'le$^+$nge$^+$-le$_+$nge$_+$, light, airy < *l$^+$e'nga$_+$*, to be light.
na'pe´di$_+$-pe´di$_+$, shining < *pe$_+$diama*, *pe$_+$dima*.
zoko-zoko, *bi-*, a toy-gun < *zo$_+$ka*, to push in.
naziku-ziku, a stinging ache < *zi$_+$kula* > *na'zi´ku$_+$*.
naziba-ziba, dark > *zi$_+$bakana*.
nasanga-sanga (Kyi.), rapidly *sa$_+$ngalala*, to make haste.
dingi-dingi, *na'di´ngi$_+$ngi$_+$*, silent < *di$_+$ngama*.

Note 1. Many reduplicative nouns formed from verbs, retain in conformity with these (which are formed from nouns with a rising intonation) their rising intonation in the first element, but have a falling one in the second element with an acute pitch in the root-syllable:

ki'nse$_+$va'-nse´va$_+$, inclination to laugh < *se$_+$va*.
ki'nku$_+$nda'-nku´nda$_+$, a parasite < *ku$^+$nda'* = *tatamana*, sticking to.
lu$^+$sa$_+$ku'-sa´ku$_+$, *N.* 131, or *lu$^+$sa$_+$-sa´ku$_+$* or *lu$^+$ntsa$_+$-ntsa´ku$_+$*, a plant < *sa$_+$kumuka*.
ki$^+$so$_+$ko'-so´ko$_+$, stitch (in the side) < *so$_+$kula*, stitch in the hip.
yu$_+$ku'-yu´ku$_+$ or *yu$_+$ku'-yu$_+$ku$^+$*, fever-heat < *yu$_+$kama*.

Note 2. Several reduplicatives also have a rising intonation in both elements: *te$_+$bo'-te$_+$bo$^+$*, love of talking < *te$_+$buka*.

In reduplicative nouns formed from nouns.

122. Reduplicative nouns formed from nouns with a rising intonation, retain as a rule their rising intonation in the first element and get a falling intonation in the second with an acute pitch in the root-syllable.

Those formed from nouns with a falling intonation, follow the rule in 120.

From nouns with a *rising* intonation. *N.* 131—133.

mu^{++}mpe$^+$se'-mpe´se$_+$, a tree < *mpe$_+$se*.
mu'su$^+$mbi'-su´mbi$_+$, a tree.
di^{++}ngo$^+$lo'-ngo´lo$_+$ (in dial. *dingodo-ngodo*), a plant < *ngo$_+$lo*
mungola-ngola, a plant in swamps < *ngo$_+$la*, a fish.
mungoma-ngoma, a tree, or *mu'ngo$^+$-ngo´ma$_+$* < *ngo$_+$ma*.
mungulu-ngulu, a line of chalk in the face < *ngu$_+$lu*.

From nouns with a *falling* intonation.

mú⁺zi'-mú'zi$_{\text{l}}$, a herb.

ma⁺ntsa'-ma'ntsa$_{\text{l}}$, sour nsafu $<$*nsa'* or *ntsa*, acidity.

Note. Reduplicatives are often combined with *ye*, *na*, or *ka*, and generally follow the same rules:

ntse'ko$_{+}$ *ye*$_{+}$ *nse'ko*$_{+}$ or *ntse⁺ko' ye*$_{+}$ *nse'ko*$_{+}$, along the shore.

nko'no' *na*$_{+}$ *nko*$_{+}$*no⁺*, number of, crowd (Kyi.). *N.* 130.

lu'mbu' *ka*$_{+}$ *lu'mbu*$_{\text{l}}$, day after day.

In Diminutives.

123. The diminutives follow the same rules as the reduplicatives. If they are formed from monosyllabic nouns, the intonation is fluctuating according as in dialects they are pronounced as one word or in two different parts. In Kingoyi and other dialects diminutives with *mwa'* $<$*mwana* are generally pronounced without reduplication. The pitch in *mwa* is modified according to the root-pitch of the noun.

From monosyllabic nouns:

ki'nzu$_{+}$*nzu⁺* or *nzu'nzu*$_{+}$ $<$*zu*$_{+}$, *ki*$_{+}$*nzu⁺*, pot, in dial, *ki'nzu*$_{+}$*-nzu*$_{+}$.

ki'mpu⁺ or *ki'mpu⁺-mpu⁺* or *ki'mpu⁺mpu⁺mpu*$_{+}$ $<$*mpu'*, hat.

ki'nti⁺nti⁺ or *ki'nti⁺* or *ki'nti⁺nti⁺ki⁺di*$_{+}$ $<$*nti'*, tree.

From dissyllabic nouns:

ki'nza$_{+}$*la'-nza'la*$_{+}$, languish $<$*nza*$_{+}$*la⁺*.

ki'mu$_{+}$*ntu⁺-mu'ntu*$_{+}$ $<$*mu*$_{+}$*ntu*.

ki'nke⁺nto⁺-nke'nto$_{+}$ $<$*nke''nto'*.

lu'nto⁺ko⁺-nto$_{+}$*ko*$_{+}$ $<$*to'ku'sa'*, to chatter.

but:— *lu'nzu*$_{+}$*ndu⁺* $<$*nzu*$_{+}$*ndu⁺*, anvil.

Nouns with *mwa'*:

mwã mfu⁺mu$_{+}$, *mwa mu*$_{+}$*ntu*$_{\text{l}}$.

In Compound Nouns.

124. Compound nouns follow the pitch-rules according to their different ways of formation.

nka'di a⁺mpe'mba $<$*mpe'mba*$_{+}$, grave (dial.), $<$*ve*$_{+}$*mbuka*.

ki'mpa⁺ nti⁺, *bi-*, almond-fruit.

ki'mfwa⁺ nka$_{\text{l}}$*bu*$_{\text{l}}$, an insect $<$*fwa⁺ nka'bu*$_{+}$. In Bembe *mu*$_{+}$*-fwa⁺ nka'ba'la*$_{+}$. *N.* 127.

lu⁺bo'ko' *y⁺o*$_{+}$*ngo*$_{+}$, night-jar $<$*bo*$_{+}$*ko*, etc.

mpu'mpu$_{+}$*lu⁺vu'nu*$_{+}$ $<$*vu*$_{+}$*na*.

uu'nda$_{+}$*nda⁺ nzi'la*$_{+}$, a herb $<$*la*$_{+}$*nda*, etc.

ma'nta⁺ mbo,ka₊, a herb < *ta⁺*, to sting, *bō⁺ka⁺*, to cry, *N.* 126.
ndu₊mb' a⁺ndu'di₊, gall-bladder.
ki'mbu₊mba⁺ ntu,lu,, *N.* 128.

In Formations from Foreign Words.

125. The intonation in foreign words varies in the dialects. It follows very closely the formation of paronymous native words.

mē₊ta⁺, *me₊nta⁺*, *bi-*, metre.
fa'la'nka₊, franc, *fa'la'nsa₊*, French.
pi'tu₊lo'ya₊, *di-*, petroleum.
pe'pa₊, *pepela*, *papila*, paper.
pī'si, *mpisi*, piece.
bi'lu₊, *bi-*, bureau.
ke'lo'lo', *bi-*, trumpet < Fr. clairon.
le'ta₊, *bi-*, letter.
le₊ta', *ma-*, or *le'ta₊*, the state < Fr. l'etat.
sa₊zio⁺, *ma-*, sergeant.
lā'ta₊, *la'nta₊*, *ma-*, tin.
dū'ki', assistant, chief < duke.
pa'sa, Easter, but: — *pa₊sa*, to flow, to stream.
pa'la₊ta₊, *bi-*, silver.
pa'la₊sō⁺la₊, *bi-*, parasol.
pa'la₊ba₊, *ma-*, palaver.
po'ko₊lo₊ or *po₊ko₊lo⁺*, *pakosi*, *kimpokoli*, *luhakala* (Be.), cartridge-box.
pe'lo₊zo₊, *bi-*, prison.
pa'ka₊si₊, *pa⁺kō'si₊*, *po'si₊* pocket < Fr. poche.
pa⁺ko'ta₊, *bi-*, parcel.
pi₊nta⁺, paint.
pū₊sa⁺, to push.
sa'ka₊-lō⁺ya₊, *ma-*, *bi-*, cork-screw.
ma₊ka⁺zi'ni₊ or *ma'ka'zi'ni₊*, *di-*, store, magazine.
me'za₊, table.
me'ya₊, stockings, socks.

VI. Tables of Notes with Comments.

2 *N.* Examples from the Mazinga Dialect.

(Transcription by Dr. Heinitz).

126. The Mazinga dialect is spoken south of the Kingoyi dialect in the regions of the cataracts and is the central dialect of the Kongo language in which the Kongo Bible is written and other literature published. Cf. my Kongo grammar.

With regard to the pitch I preferred to use the Kingoyi dialect as a basis for this treatise, because it is further removed from the influence of white people and other strangers. It is spoken on both sides of the central boundary line between Belgian and French Congo.

During the preparation of this work I discovered some new points of view and some nouns and verbs whose influenced pitch was not satisfactorily investigated, I therefore asked the Rev. O. Morfeldt to use my Excelsior Phonograph and take the wanted records. The words were spoken by two natives from the towns of Kimbemba and Lukoko. Several cylinders were taken for the sake of comparison, but the following records are considered to be of the greatest interest to illustrate the variations in pitch.

Though the words have been spoken by natives not trained in the work, I can verify that their work is most reliable. However, they have not been able to keep the same tone of voice in the cylinders, and occasionally the voice has been falling at the end of it. This being the case we find in these records three different tones of voice, which may be rather confusing in the beginning. But in order to make it easier to understand the intervals and the intonation, I have written the words pronounced in the same cylinder and with approximatively the same tone of voice in three parts of the table. It would have been easy to reduce the different tones of voice to that spoken by Kionga, but I prefer to give the original pitch, which, according to Dr Heinitz, is exactly one octave lower than the a 1.

If we study the intervals and my phonetic signs, written in the beginning of each part, we shall find a remarkable conformity with the pitch in the Kingoyi dialect.

When comparing this table of notes with the first one, we directly find that Kionga has pronounced each word and each syllable distinctly and isolated except in words with a rising or falling pitch. In the Mazinga dialect we find that the syllables are pronounced with

a gliding tone, occasionally even in genitives, prefixes and prepositions. The pitch also tends to fall somewhat in words having the level intonation in the Kingoyi dialect, c. g. *nkento,* 71, In other tables we find the same tendency.

Though references to this table will be found in the rules, we will call attention in this place to the following points.

1) With regard to monosyllables with a semi-low pitch we note that they are generally pronounced with a semi-high pitch and are very difficult to distinguish from other monosyllables. Compare *mvu,* hair; *ngo,* leopard; *kwa,* how many (55); *nza,* pride; *nsa,* poison (48), and *ba,* stinger (52), with *mbu,* sea; *mvu* year (54); *nza,* land; *nsa,* acidity (49); *sa,* pot (50).

It is only in derivatives where the real semi-low pitch is noticeable: *di'nko₊ndo⁺ < ko⁺,* banana. This is also the case in the Kingoyi dialect with verbs of the type *ka⁺nga',* to bind *> ka₊ngi₊sa'* etc.

Nouns with rising intonation have also a semi-high root-pitch and high ultima-pitch: 14, 15, 79.

The influence of a nasal with *u*-quality is more or less noticeable. Cf. 65 and 66, 69, etc. Nasal with *i*-quality has an audible pitch before a voiced consonant. Cf. 49, 55, 67 etc.

As for the stress, note 59 and 62, 63 and 67, 69. As for nasal with stress, see 42, 43.

2) In dissyllables we notice that words, which in the Kingoyi dialect have a level intonation, generally have a somewhat lower ultima. Cf. 3, 71, 98, 99, but:— *ku'mi'* (100).

3) The characteristic acute pitch is noticeable only in the genitive, with a preposition, and an attribute. Cf. 32, 37, 38 with 1, 16, 21; 90, 91 with 92, 93; 121 with 125; 117, 118 with 119, 120.

As for the difference in stress, quantity and pitch in root-syllables, genitives, and prepositions, compare the same examples and 16 and 18, 17 and 19, 22 and 24, 23 and 25 etc.

4) Personal pronouns with a semi-low root-pitch are often pronounced with an acute pitch in emphasis: 29, 47, but in genitives according to the rules 36. *Beto, beno* seem to retain the acute pitch. Cf. 32 with 37 and 38.

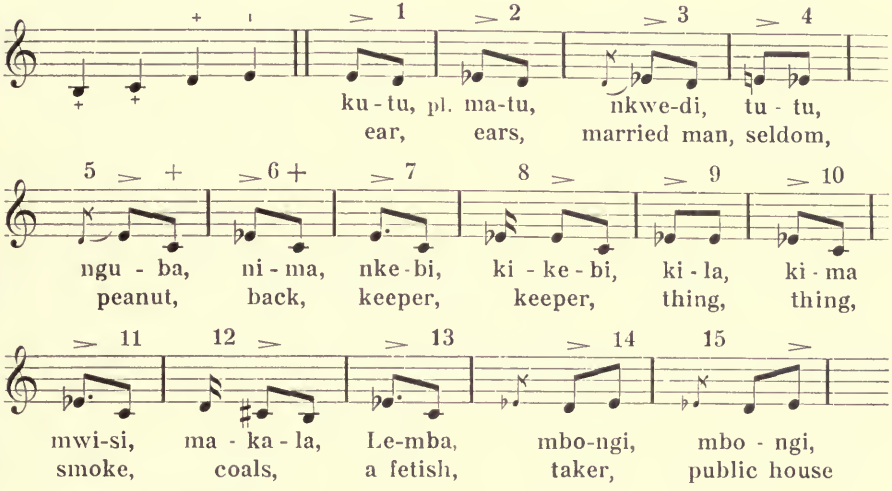
With regard to pronouns we also find that the possessive pronouns have a higher pitch than the demonstrative pronouns: 39, 40, 108, 110 etc.

5) The last part of the table, where the verbs are given, is of great interest for the sake of comparing the different forms in each tense and person in their relation to the different ground-pitches of the verbs. These new forms of the verb are an instructive supple-

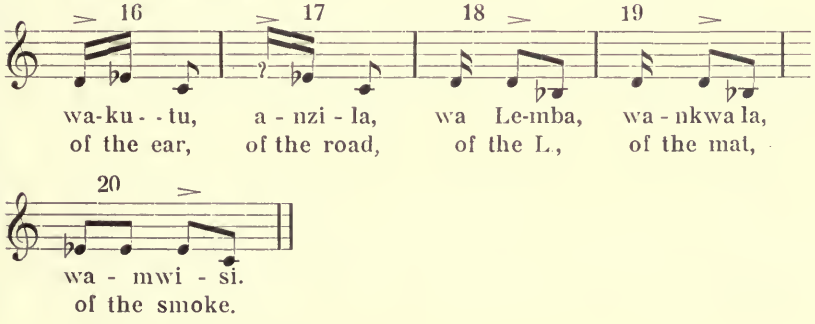
ment to those we have in the Kigoyi dialect. A few of those forms are also given here in order to call attention to the variations in some cases, where there is an additional applicative meaning. Cf. *bakulu* with *N.* 200, *pakulu* with *N.* 220, *kabulu* with *N.* 210. *Sukudi* and *N.* 240 have the same pitch. Cf. also *tudidi* with *N.* 226.

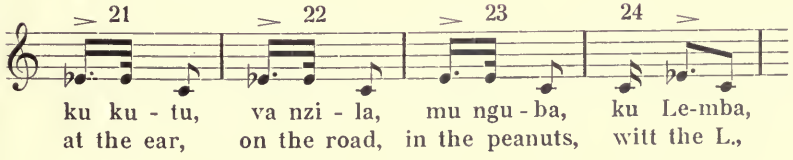
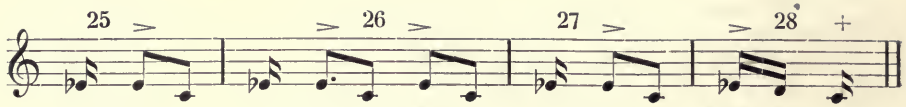
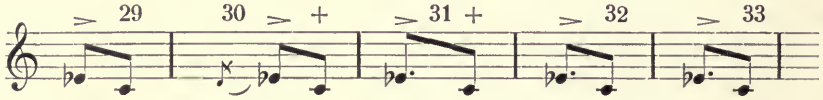
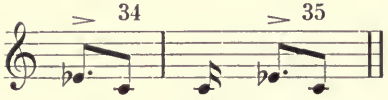
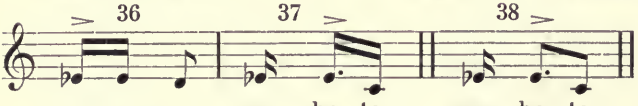
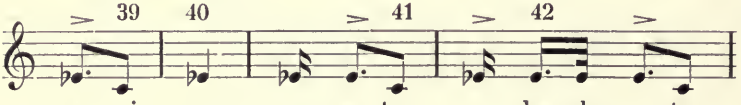
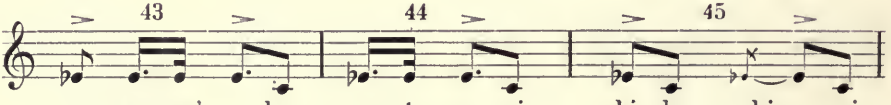
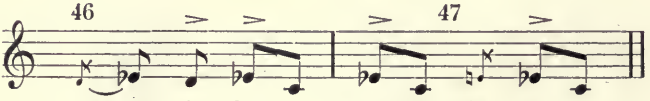
In most of the examples we find the same gliding tone as in *N.* 236, 237 or 240, 241, 230 and 234.

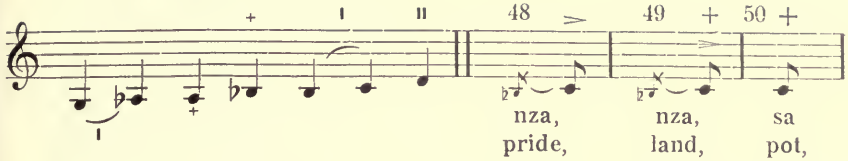
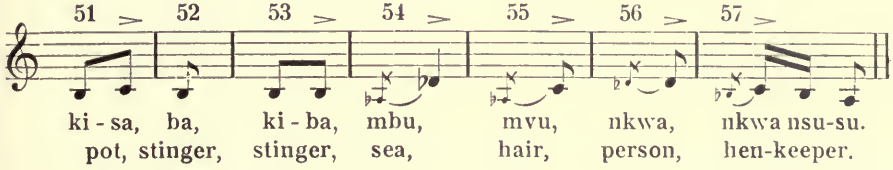
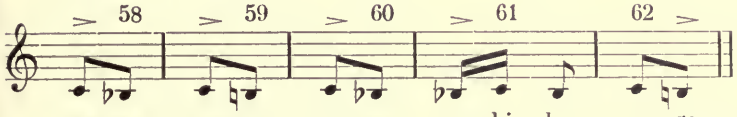
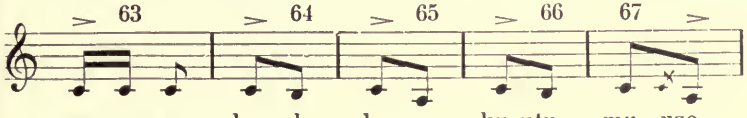
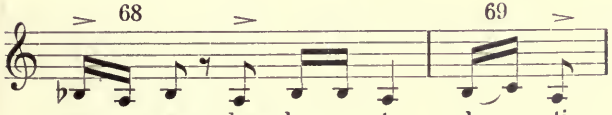
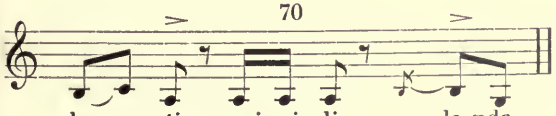
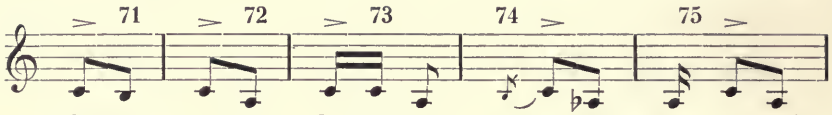
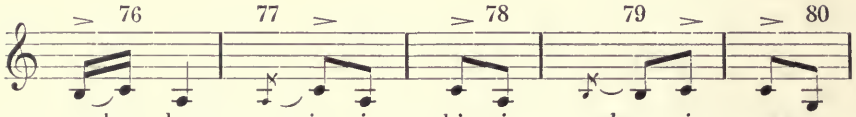
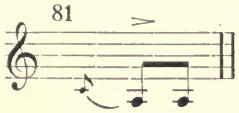
I.

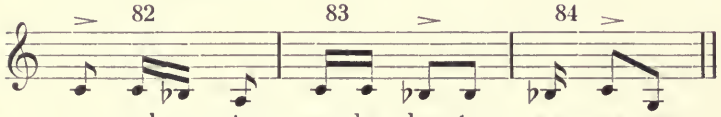
Nouns:

1 2 3 4
ku-tu, pl. ma-tu, nkwe-di, tu-tu,
ear, ears, married man, seldom,
5 + 6 + 7 8 9 10
ngu-ba, ni-ma, nke-bi, ki-ke-bi, ki-la, ki-ma
peanut, back, keeper, keeper, thing, thing,
11 12 13 14 15
mwi-si, ma-ka-la, Le-mba, mbo-ngi, mbo-ngi,
smoke, coals, a fetish, taker, public house

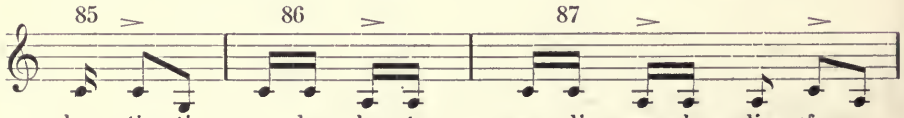
With a genitive:

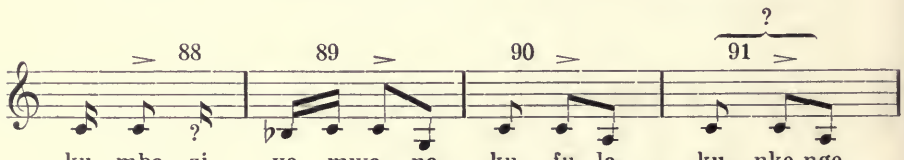


With a preposition:

Personal Pronouns:

With a genitive: With a preposition:

Possessive Pronouns:

II.

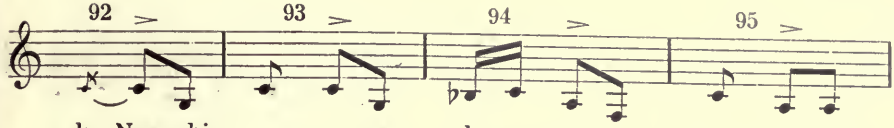
Monosyllables:

With a genitive:

With a preposition:

Dissyllables:

nke-nto, ma-ma, lu - mo-so, nza - nza, ba - su - ndi,
woman, mother, lefthandedness, plateau, sundi-people,

nle - ke, mwi - si, bi - si, ndo - - zi, na - na,
younger brother, person, persons, dream, nothing,

kwa - na - na.
there is nothing.

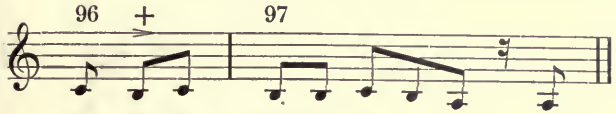
With a genitive:

wa - nke - - nto, wa - ba - ke-nto, wa - ma - ma.
of the woman, of the women, of the mother.

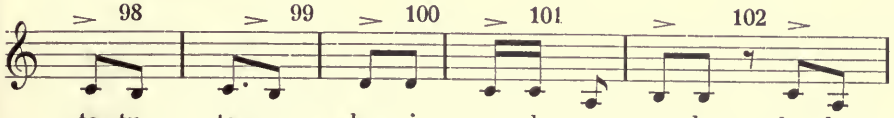
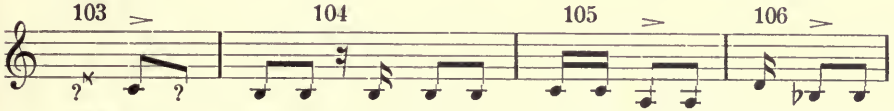
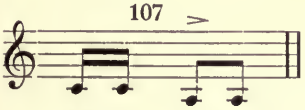
With a preposition:

ku ti - ti, mu ba - ke-nto, mu di - a-mbu dia-mfu-mu,
in the grass, among the women, for the chief's sake,

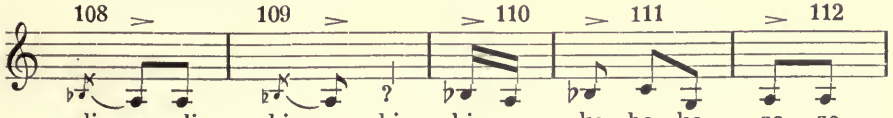


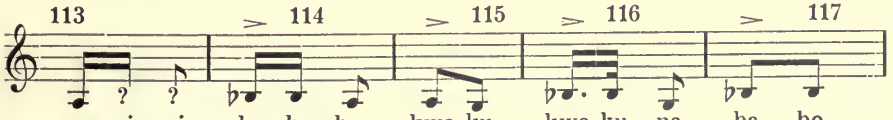
ku mba - zi, va mwa - na, ku fu - la, ku nke-nge,
outside, on the child, at the road, at the nk. market,

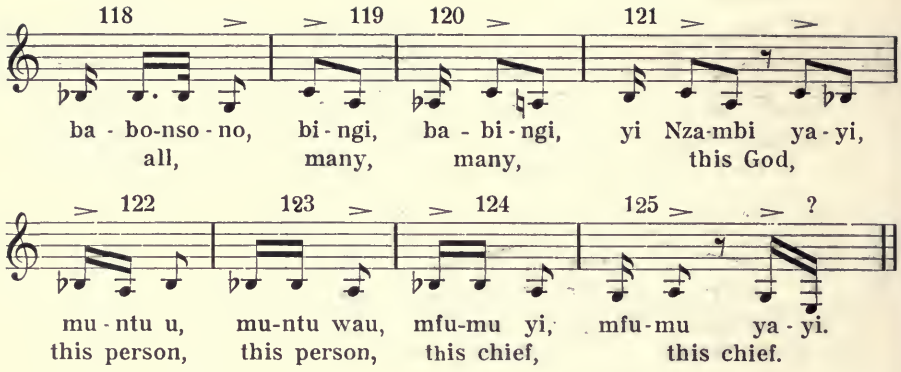


ku Nza-mbi, va mo-ngo, kwa ya-ya, kwa nga-nga,
to God, on the mountain, to the mother, to the medicine-man,

ye mo-ngo. m - pi - la mo - si ye.
with the mountain, the same as.

Numerals:

ta - tu, ta - nu, ku-mi, sa-mba - nu, nzo - le be - le,
three, five, ten, six, two have gone,

nta - nu, ba - ntu ba - ta - tu, mfu-mu zo - le, nzo ta-nu,
five three persons, two chiefs, five houses,
(persons),

ngu-lu zo - le.
two pigs.

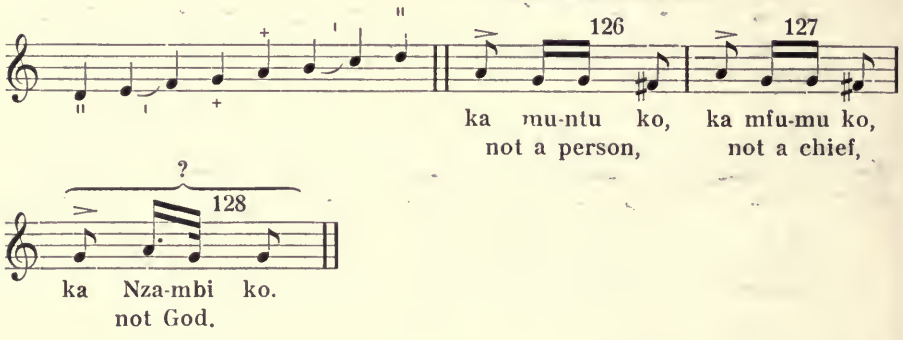
Demonstrative Pronouns:

di - a - di, bi - a - bi, kia - u, ka ba ko, zo - zo,
this, these, it, not these, those,



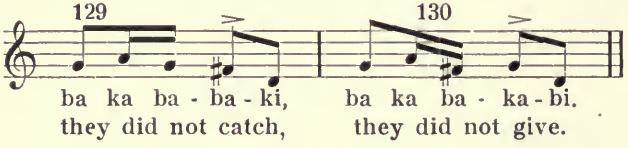
za - zi - zi, ba - ba - ba, kwa-ku, kwa-ku - na, ba - bo,
just these, these, here, here, there, all,

118
119
120
121
ba - bo-nso - no, bi - ngi, ba - bi - ngi, yi Nza-mbi ya - yi,
all, many, many, this God,
122
123
124
125
?
mu - ntu u, mu-ntu wau, mfu-mu yi, mfu-mu ya - yi.
this person, this person, this chief, this chief.

III.

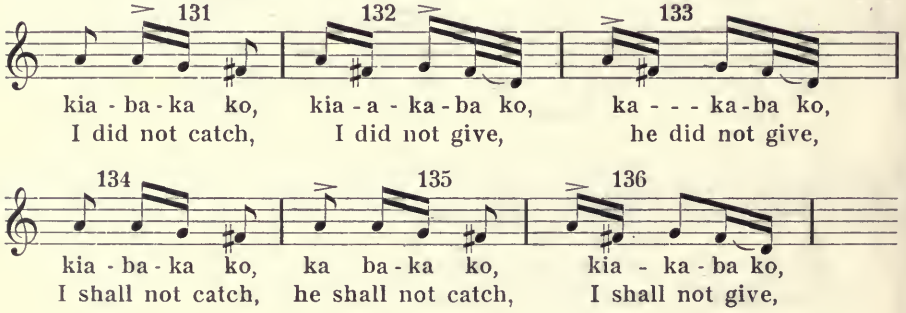
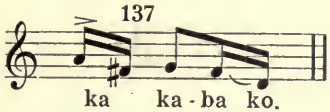
Nouns with *ka-ko:*



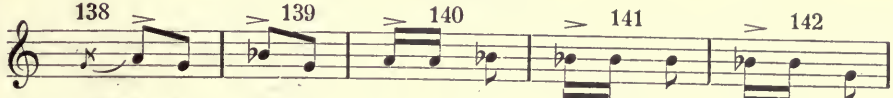
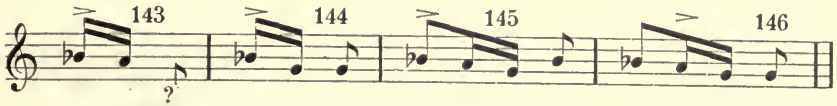
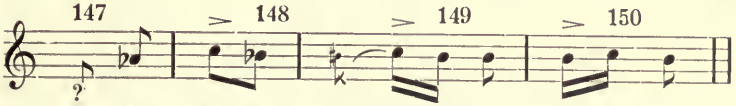
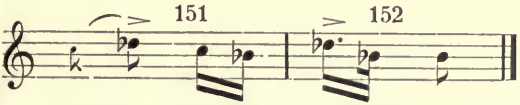
Verbs with *negative mood:*

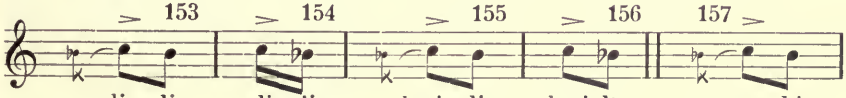
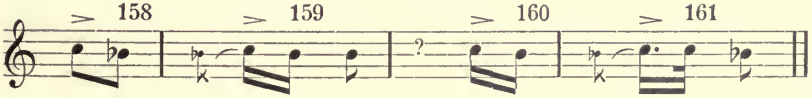
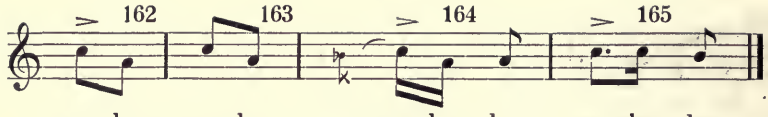


Verbs with *ka-ko:*

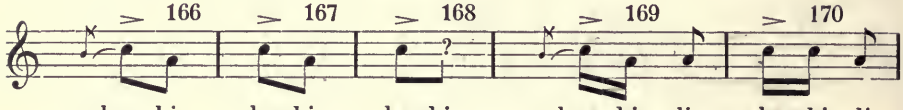

131
132
133
kia - ba - ka ko, kia - a - ka - ba ko, ka - - - ka - ba ko,
I did not catch, I did not give, he did not give,
134
135
136
kia - ba - ka ko, ka ba - ka ko, kia - ka - ba ko,
I shall not catch, he shall not catch, I shall not give,

ka ka - ba ko.
he shall not give.

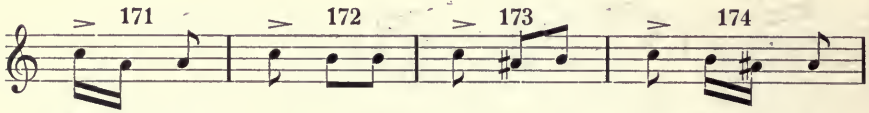
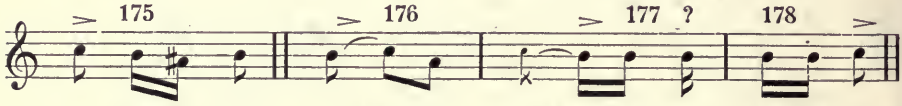
Different forms of Perfect:

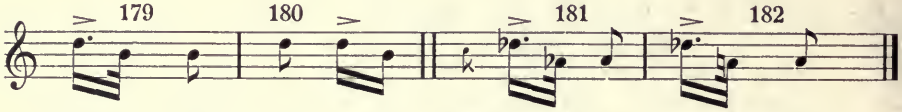
a) Verbs with a *high* ground pitch:

mbe - ki, be - ki, mba-ki - di, ba - ki - di, ba - ki - di,
1 have caught, he has caught, I have, thou hast, he has,

ya - be ki, wa - be - ki, ya - ba - ki - di, wa - ba - ki - di;
I got, he got, I have got, he has got,

mbe - ko, be - ko, mba - ku - lu, ba - ku - lu;
I am caught, he is caught, I am captured, he is captured;

nko - mbe-le, ko-mbe - le.
I have swept, he has swept.

b) With a *semi-high* ground-pitch.

ndi - di, di - di, mbwi - di, bwi-di; mpe - ki,
I have eaten, he has eaten, I have fallen, he has fallen; I have cut up,

pe - ki, mpa - ki - di, ntu di - di, tu - di - di,
he has cut up, I have cut up, I have put down, he has put down,

mpe-ko, pe-ko, mpa-ku-lu, pa-ku-lu.
I have been cut up, he has been cut up, (it is) cut up for me, (it is) cut up for him.

c) With a *semi-low* ground-pitch.



nke-bi, I have given; ke-bi, thou hast given; ke-bi, he has given; nka-bi-di, I gave; ka-bi-di, thou gave,

ka-bi-di, he gave; ya-ke-bi, I have given; wa-ke-bi, he has given; ya-ka-bi-di, I gave,

wa-ka-bi-di; he gave; nke-bo, I was given; nka-bu-lu, I was given; ka-bu-lu; he was given;



ntu-ti-di, I have crushed; tu-ti-di; he has crushed; mbo-nge-le, I have taken; bo-nge-le. he has taken.

3 *N.* Examples from the Ndingi Dialect.

(Transcription by Dr. Heinitz).

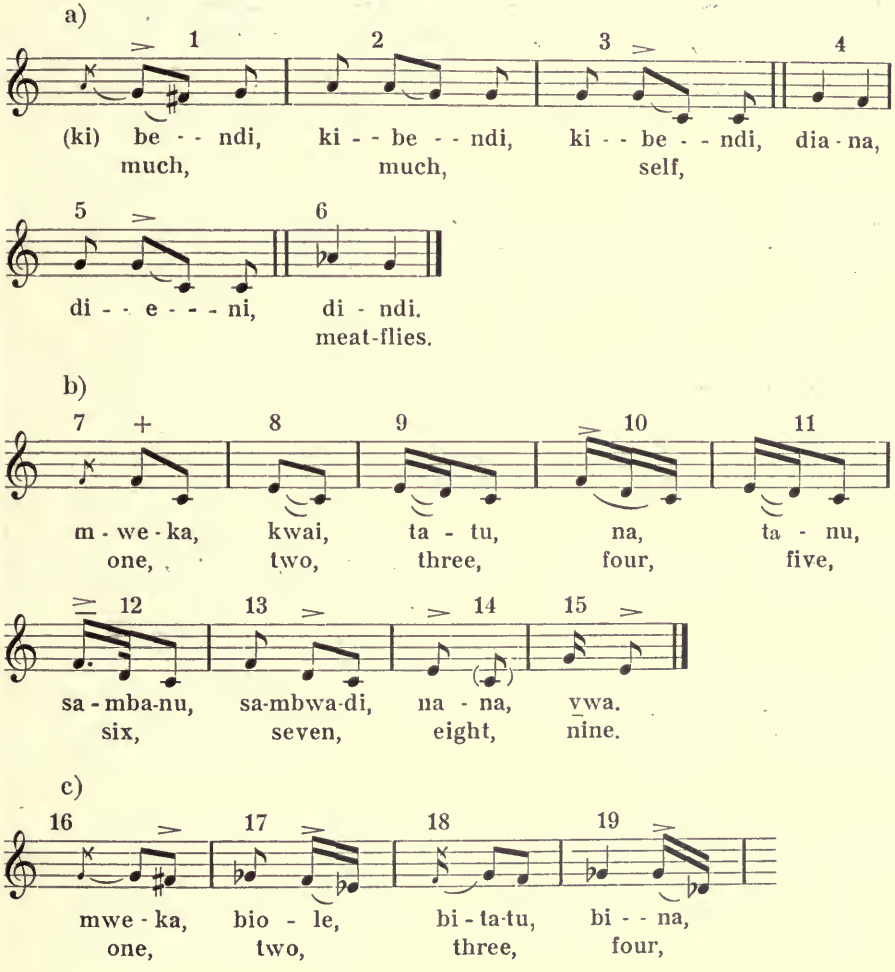
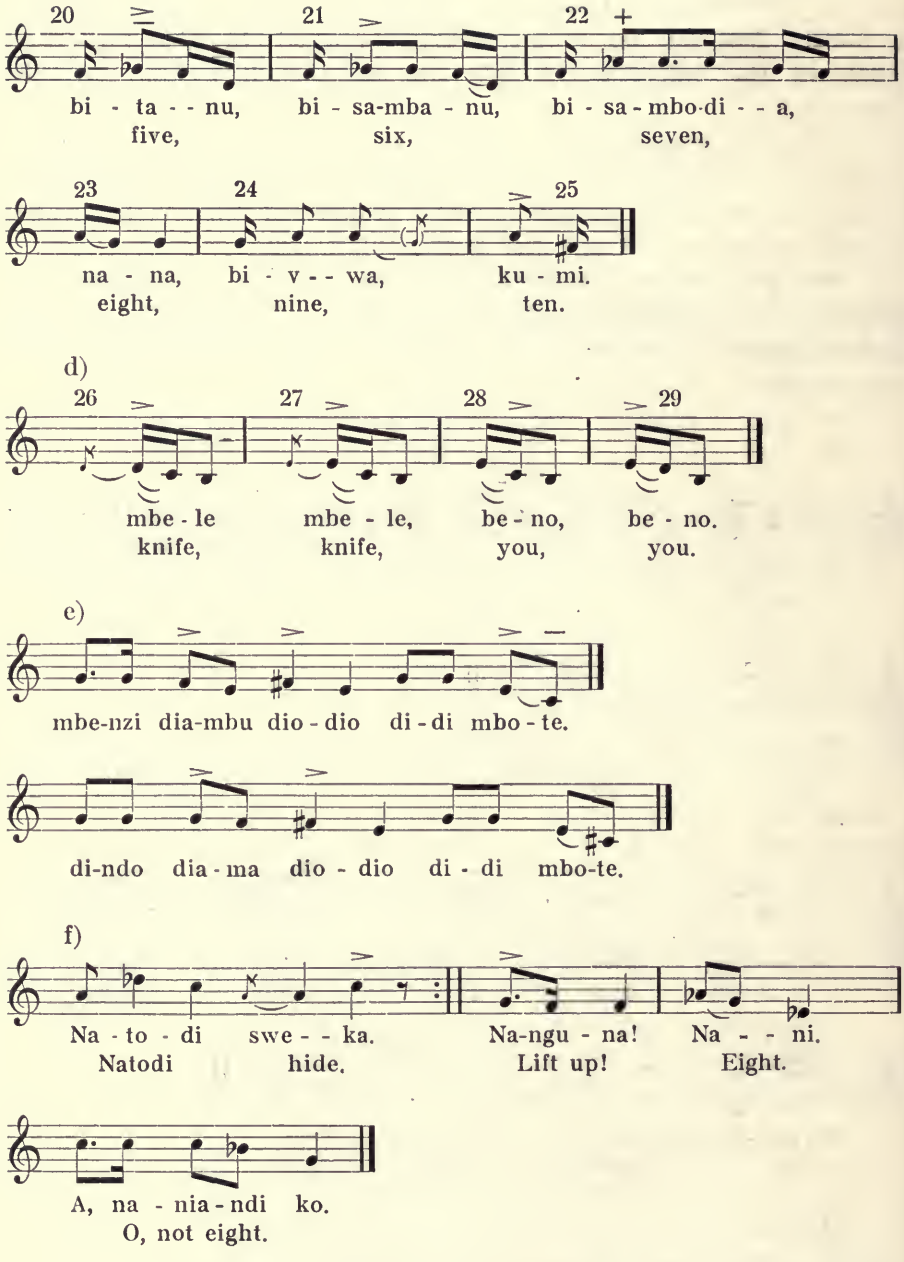
127. This dialect is spoken at Ndingi etc. in the northern part of Mayombe in the Belgian Congo and Portuguese territory. It is a strange dialect with a pitch of great interest because of its variations in falling root-pitch, which seems to be very common in several of the northern dialects.

The root-pitch often falls rapidly down to the fifth. Cf. 3, 5.

b) and c) are examples of numerals 1—10 with or without a prefix. We note the falling pitch of the nasal (10), the perceptible pitch of the voiced *v̲* (15, 24), and also the pitch of *w* and *a* in *biwwa* (24).

d) gives characteristic examples of the grave pitch in northern dialects.

In e) we have examples of the influenced pitch in connected speech. Note the fall of pitch at the end.

The first line of f) is a little singing-play, which the natives sing, when playing »hide the ring», and so on. It is usually repeated several times before one says: *Nanguna.* At the end is the usual fall of pitch.

a)
1 2 3 4
(ki) be - - ndi, ki - - be - - ndi, ki - - be - - ndi, dia - na,
much, much, self,
5 6
di - - e - - - ni, di - ndi.
meat-flies.
b)
7 + 8 9 10 11
m - we - ka, kwai, ta - tu, na, ta - nu,
one, two, three, four, five,
12 13 14 15
sa - mba - nu, sa-mbwa-di, na - na, v̲wa.
six, seven, eight, nine.
c)
16 17 18 19
mwe - ka, bio - le, bi - ta-tu, bi - - na,
one, two, three, four,

20
21
22
bi - ta - - nu,
five,
bi - sa-mba - nu,
six,
bi - sa - mbo-di - - a,
seven,
23
24
25
na - na,
eight,
bi - v - - wa,
nine,
ku - mi.
ten.
d)
26
27
28
29
mbe - le
knife,
mbe - le,
knife,
be - no,
you,
be - no.
you.
e)
mbe-nzi dia-mbu dio - dio di - di mbo - te.
di-ndo dia - ma dio - dio di - di mbo-te.
f)
Na - to - di swe - - ka.
Natodi hide.
Na-ngu - na!
Lift up!
Na - - ni.
Eight.
A, na - nia - ndi ko.
O, not eight.

4 *N.* A Quarrel.

(Transcription by Dr. Heinitz).

128. The following record is in the Mazinga dialect about two women quarrelling about some pigs which have eaten up their peanuts.

The original, according to Dr Heinitz, is one fifth higher than the notation, which approximately renders the exact intonation. The metre will serve as a support and is not intended to be quite exact

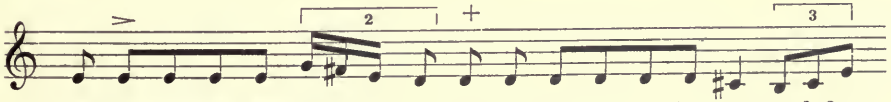
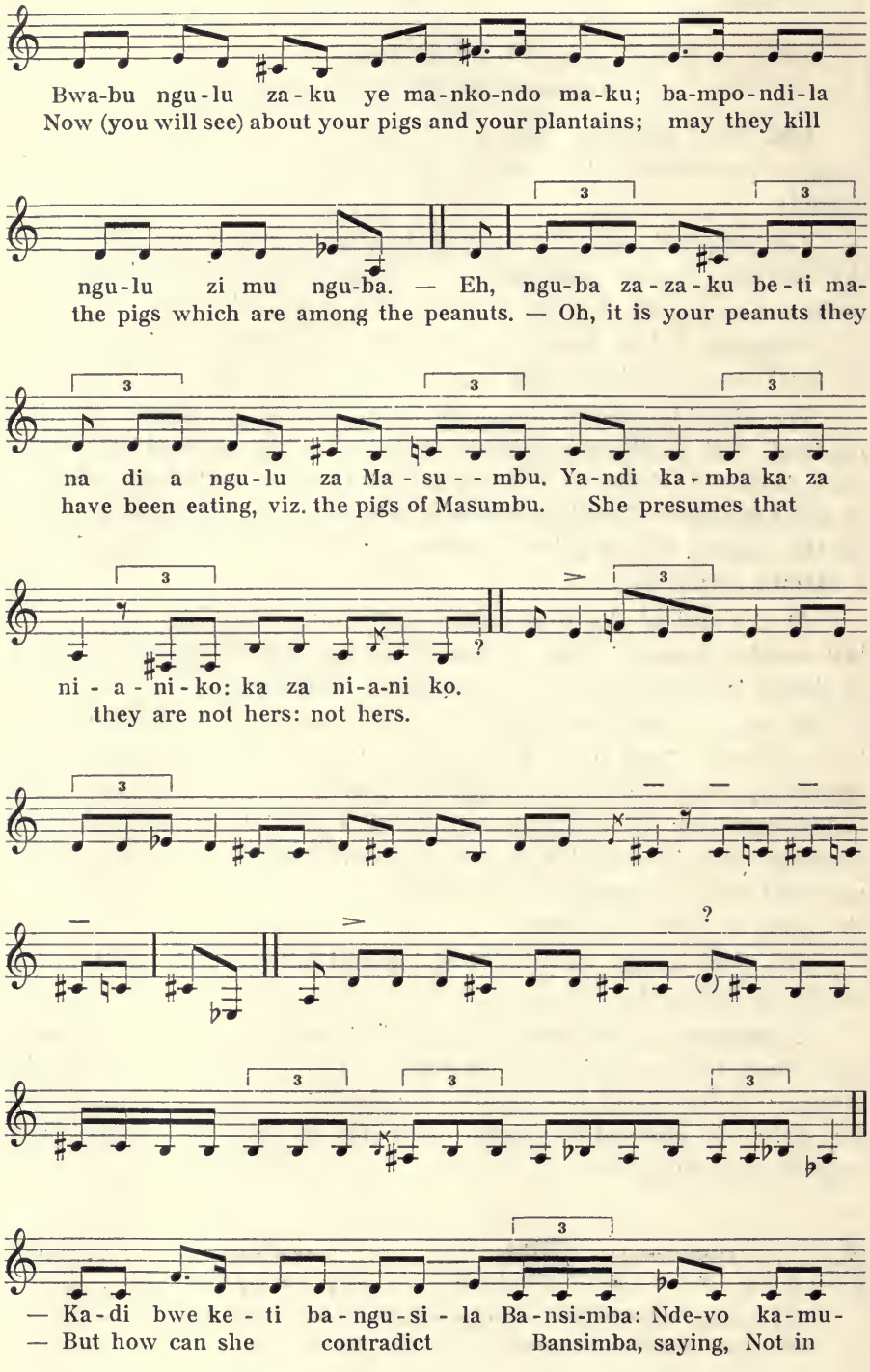
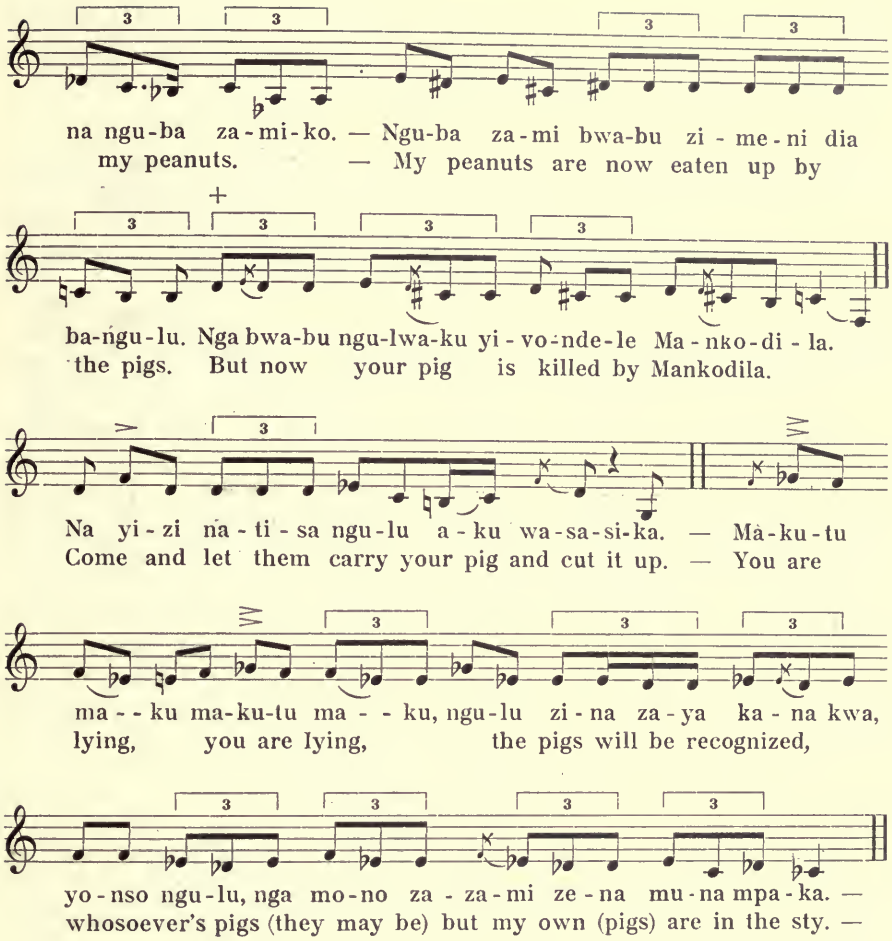
Although it has been very difficult to hear the words distinctly, at least some of them, this is a good record of the sentence-pitch.

We should notice 1) how the influenced pitch of each word is retained and easily recognized, 2) how words are emphasized by great intervals (rising or falling), and 3) how the sentence-pitch aims at assimilating or levelling the intervals in order to lay special stress on the ending, whose pitch dominates the whole sentence and gives a certain emphasis to it.

At the end of the first sentence we notice that the pitch of the last word is lowered whereas that of the last syllable is rapidly raised to denote a contradiction or provoke to a discussion.

In the second sentence the intonation is very level except in the last syllable whose pitch is rapidly falling, denoting a positive statement or assertion. In the third and fourth sentence another woman is making the same statement, giving a special emphasis to it by lowering the tone in the last words: *za Masumbu,* i. e. Masumbu's pigs and no one else's, and: *zaniandi ko,* i. e. not hers! We notice the same in other sentences.

The intervals in the rapidly rising and falling pitch are from the fourth to the sixth.

At the end (see *wasasika*) of the last sentence but one we should note that one syllable has no pitch. This is not as usual in the Mazinga dialect as in the Bembe, where the penult (and occasionally the ultima in connected speech) often has no pitch and scarcely any audible pronunciation.

Eh, ma-ma nge Ma-su - mbu ka-mba ma-ku - tu ma-ku te - - le?
Oh, you mother Masumbu, I say, have you not told lies?

Bwa-bu ngu-lu za-ku ye ma-nko-ndo ma-ku; ba-mpo-ndi-la
Now (you will see) about your pigs and your plantains; may they kill
ngu-lu zi mu ngu-ba. — Eh, ngu-ba za-za-ku be-ti ma-
the pigs which are among the peanuts. — Oh, it is your peanuts they
na di a ngu-lu za Ma-su--mbu. Ya-ndi ka-mba ka za
have been eating, viz. the pigs of Masumbu. She presumes that
ni-a-ni-ko: ka za ni-a-ni ko.
they are not hers: not hers.
— Ka-di bwe ke-ti ba-ngu-si-la Ba-nsi-mba: Nde-vo ka-mu-
— But how can she contradict Bansimba, saying, Not in

na ngu-ba za-mi-ko. — Ngu-ba za-mi bwa-bu zi-me-ni dia
my peanuts. — My peanuts are now eaten up by
ba-ngu-lu. Nga bwa-bu ngu-lwa-ku yi-vo-nde-le Ma-nko-di-la.
the pigs. But now your pig is killed by Mankodila.
Na yi-zi na-ti-sa ngu-lu a-ku wa-sa-si-ka. — Ma-ku-tu
Come and let them carry your pig and cut it up. — You are
ma--ku ma-ku-tu ma--ku, ngu-lu zi-na za-ya ka-na kwa,
lying, you are lying, the pigs will be recognized,
yo-nso ngu-lu, nga mo-no za-za-mi ze-na mu-na mpa-ka. —
whosoever's pigs (they may be) but my own (pigs) are in the sty. —

5 *N.* A little Song.

(Transcription by Dr. Heinitz).

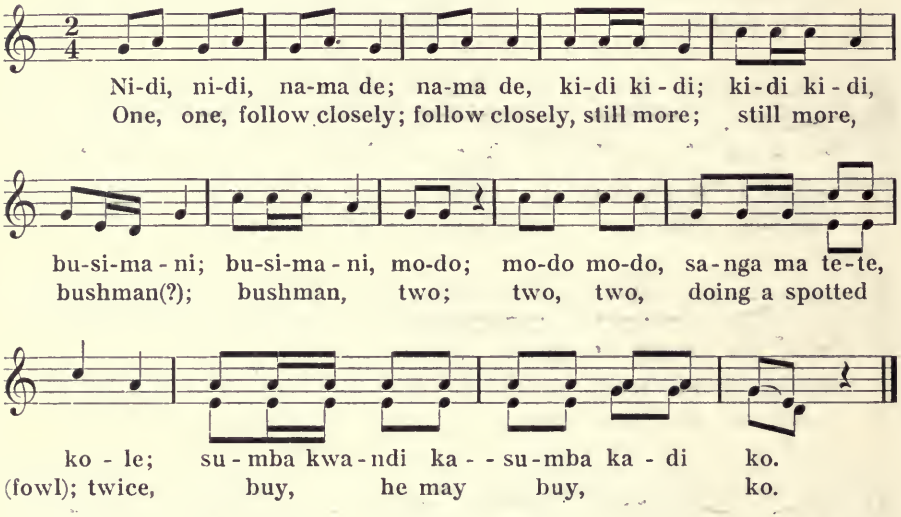
129. This little song sung by some boys is for two voices only in the last part. They sing it, when they play at counting the toes, fingers, legs of persons, sitting in a line, and so on.

This is also a versified song with the usual rhyme, i. e. the last word in the line should be repeated at the beginning of the next one, except at the end or last part of the song or play.

The translation of these kinds of songs is very difficult, because it is a mere play on words, repeated many times over.

The intonation of the ground-pitch and influenced pitch is retained and easily recognized: $ni_{+}di^{+}$, or $ni'di'$, $na_{+}ma^{+}$, $de^{+} > de^{+}de^{+}$,

ki⁺di⁺, *busi'ma'ni₊*, *mo₊do⁺*, or *mo'do'*, *s⁺a'nga₊*, *mate'te'*, *ko´le₊* > *o₊le⁺* *s⁺u'mba₊*, *kwa⁺ndi₊*.

At the end the pitch falls as usual.

Ni-di, ni-di, na-ma de; na-ma de, ki-di ki-di; ki-di ki-di,
One, one, follow closely; follow closely, still more; still more,
bu-si-ma-ni; bu-si-ma-ni, mo-do; mo-do mo-do, sa-nga ma te-te,
bushman(?); bushman, two; two, two, doing a spotted
ko-le; su-mba kwa-ndi ka--su-mba ka-di ko.
(fowl); twice, buy, he may buy, ko.

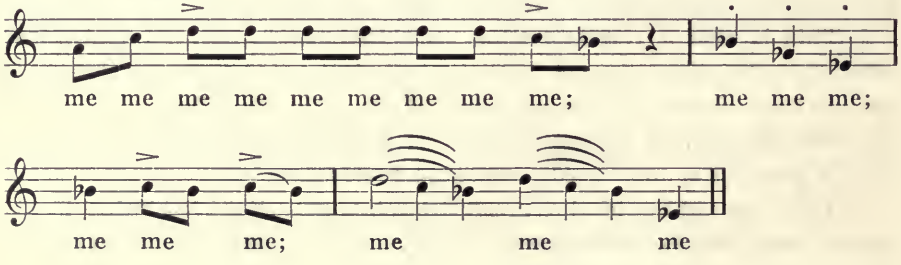
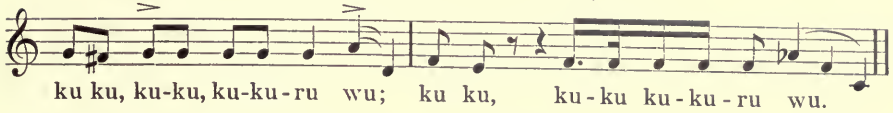
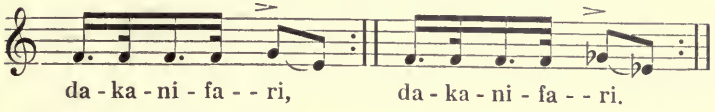
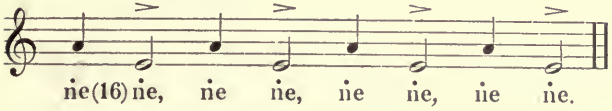
6 *N.* Mocking Birds etc.

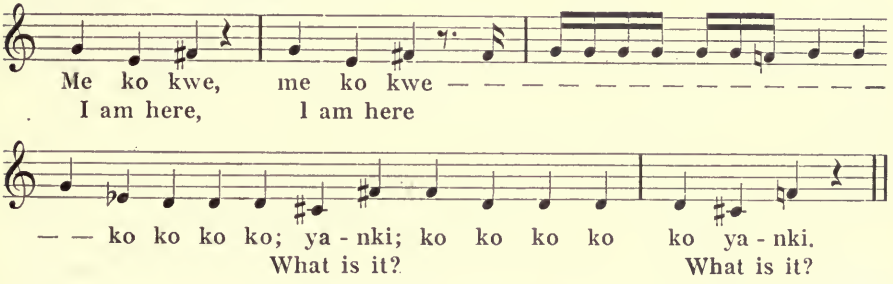
(Transcription by Dr. Heinitz).

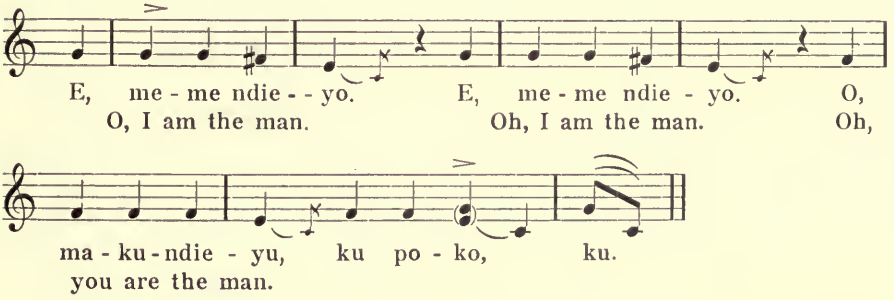
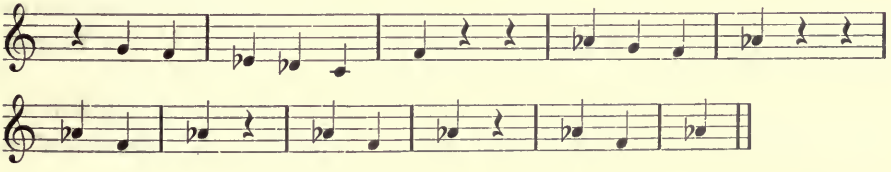
130. These records are taken at Kingoyi. Most of the words and sounds are onomatopoetic and impossible to translate.

The intervals vary very much. The fifth, which is usually the greatest interval, we notice in several places, but once we find also the sixth and octave. Cf. 2 the last word and 10 in the second bar.

In mocking the leopard (4) the lower pitch is originally about 16 grades lower than the notation.

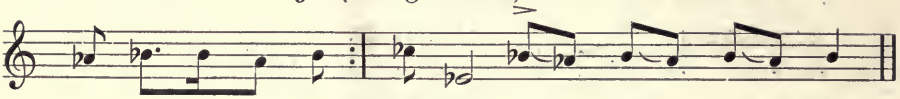
1. A goat.

2. An owl (Bubo maculosus cinerascens).

3. The bird *nsiele* (Colius nigricollis).

4. A leopard.

5. The bird *kokolo*: (Barbatula?)



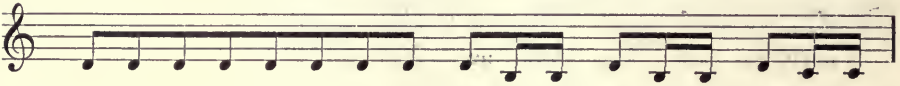
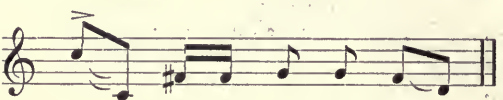
6. The bird *ngundu biolo*. (Cossypha verticalis melanonota).

7. A whistle of the same bird.

8. The bird *nkelele*, guinea-fowl.

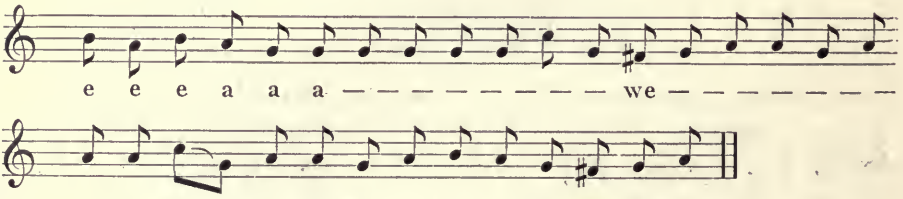
Ko ko ko ? ku we ru ko.

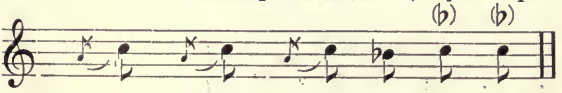
9. The bird *ndinga* (Vinago calva).



Ki - le - ndi bu - ta, (bu-)ta ko, ya, ya, ya, ya.
I cannot bear (the child); dear me, dear me.

10. The bird *popodi* (Pycnonotus tricolor) and *nsiele* (See 3).

E e — — — — — — — — — ya-bo-di, ya-bo-di, ya bo di.
Popodi: We two, we two, we two.

E, kin' a - - mi ta - - ba.
Nsiele: Oh, I shall not run away.

11. A monkey.

e e e a a a — — — — — — — — — we — — — — — — —

12. The antilope *nsuma*. (Cephalophus nigrifrons?)

dwe, dwe, dwe, du, du, du.

7 *N*. Examples from the Teke Language.

(Transcription by Dr. Heinitz).

131. This table of notes is inserted to give a notion of the characteristics of the pitch in Tekę which is spoken in the French Congo from Stanley-Posl to the Alima river.

1) A great number of the words in the language are monosyllables, whose ground-pitch often seems to be quite the same, but in

reallity it varies according to its influenced pitch. Cf. monosyllabic verbs and their perfect: 31—40.

2) The syllables in mono- and polysyllables are pronounced shorter than in Kongo.

3) In the nouns we notice the special pitch of the nasals according to the ground-pitch. Cf. 16 and 17, 18 and 19, 20 and 21 etc.

4) As for various root-pitches, see 2—5, 11—14 etc.

5) The root-pitch is not only rising (12) or falling (41) but also combined (10).

6) The variations in pitch and intonation in dissyllables are more noticeable than in monosyllables. See 25 and 26, 47 and 49 etc. Note also the difference in 27 and 28.

7) The influenced pitch in the perfect, in derivatives etc. is quite different from its equivalents in Kongo. Verbs with high root-pitch (47) retain this in the perfect in all syllables (48). Verbs corresponding to the verbs with a semi-low pitch in Kongo (49, 54) have lower pitch than the ground-pitch both in the root-syllable and the final syllable (50).

In nouns, derived from verbs, we also notice a great difference. Cf. 52, 55 and 57.

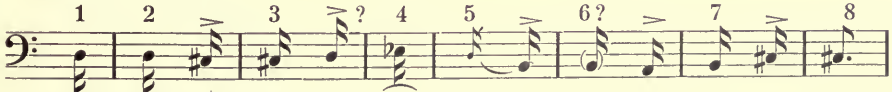
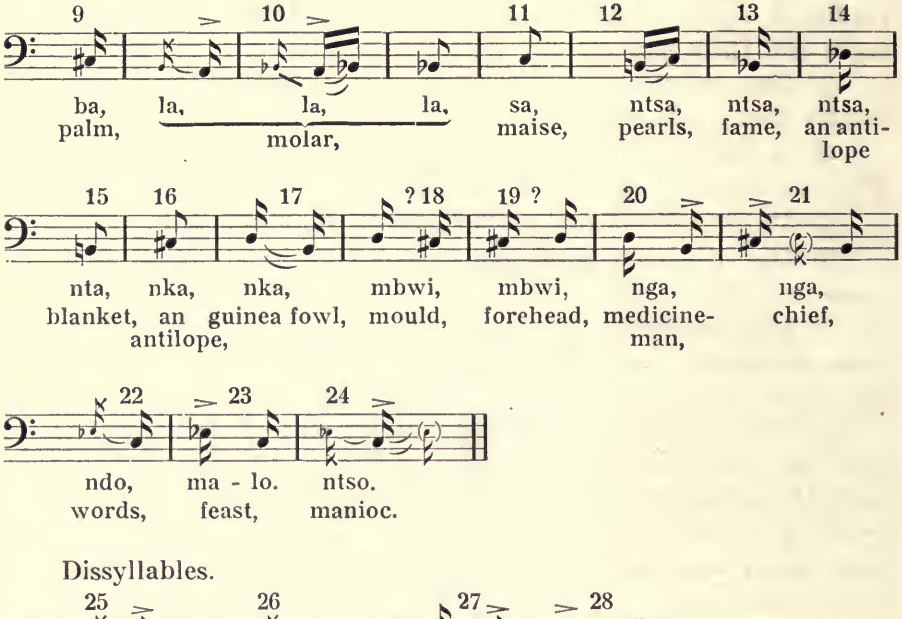
Nomina agentis and abstract nouns derived from the same verb have a different pitch. Cf. 52 and 53.

8) The infinitive, when the prefix *u* (= *ku*) is added, has another intonation than in the central dialects of the Kongo language. Cf. 61, 62.

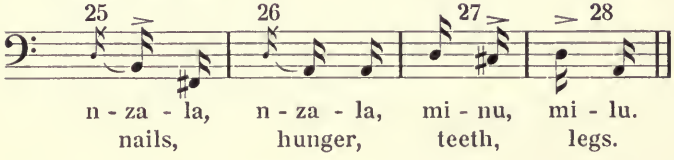
9) In some words with a high class- or pronominal prefix, e. g. 26, 50, 57 we notice a low root-pitch corresponding to the acute or semi-low pitch in Kongo.

10) With regard to the meaning of the word we find a distinct similarity in the ground-pitch, e. g. in nouns: *ba*' (2); *iba*' (7); *sa*' (11) = *s*$_{\downarrow}$*a*'*ngu*$_{\downarrow}$; *nka*' (15) = *nka*'*bi*$_{\downarrow}$; *n*'*ga*$_{+}$ (20) = *nga*$_{+}$*nga*$^{+}$ etc.; in verbs: *kwa*' (37) = *fwa*$^{+}$; *bu*'*la*$_{+}$ (47) = *bu*'*la*$_{+}$; *lu*$_{+}$*ra*$_{+}$ (49) = *lu*$_{+}$*ta*$^{+}$; *bi*$_{+}$*la*$^{+}$ (54) = *bi*$_{+}$*la*$^{+}$; *se*$_{\downarrow}$*be*$^{+}$ (61) = *se*$_{+}$*va*$^{+}$ etc.

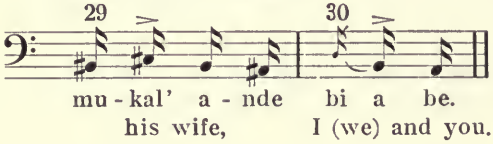
Nouns.

Monosyllables.

9 10 11 12 13 14
ba, la, la, la, sa, ntsa, ntsa, ntsa,
palm, molar, maise, pearls, fame, an anti-
lope
15 16 17 ? 18 19 ? 20 21
nta, nka, nka, mbwi, mbwi, nga, nga,
blanket, an guinea fowl, mould, forehead, medicine- chief,
antilope, man,
22 23 24
ndo, ma - lo. ntso.
words, feast, manioc.

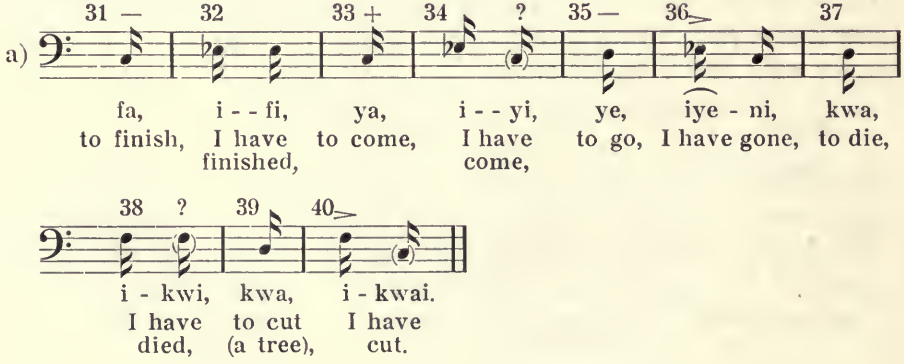
Dissyllables.

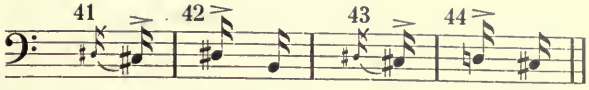


In connected speech.

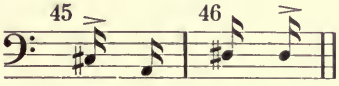


Verbs.

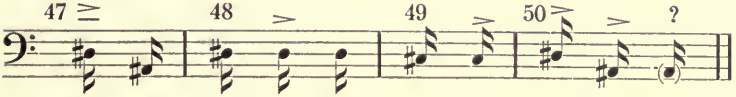
Monosyllables.

a)
31 — 32 33 + 34 ? 35 — 36 37
fa, i - - fi, ya, i - - yi, ye, iye - ni, kwa,
to finish, I have finished, to come, I have come, to go, I have gone, to die,
38 ? 39 40
i - kwi, kwa, i - kwai.
I have died, to cut (a tree), I have cut.

b)

lo, i - lwe, to, i - twe,
to put down, I have put down, to come from, I have come from.

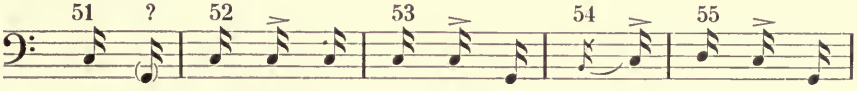
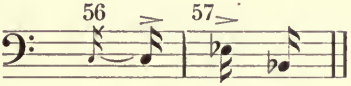
c)

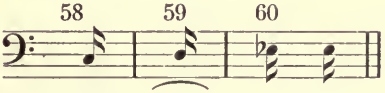


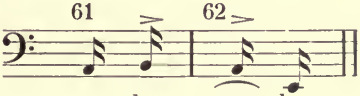
yu - o, i - - yu.
to hear, I have heard.

Dissyllables.

bu - la, i - bu - li, lu - ra, i - - lu - - ri.
to crush, I have crushed, to pass, I have passed.

Derivatives.

a)

bwo - lo, i - bwo - li, i - bwo - li, bi - la, li - bi - lu,
to breed, breeding, breeder, to talk, to teach,

lwo, u - lwo.
to teach, teacher.

b)

bwa, bwia, i - bwi,
to fall, to cause to fall, I have caused to fall down.

With *ku*.

se - be, use - be,
to laugh, to laugh.

8 *N.* Examples from the Bembe Dialect.[1])

(Transcription by Dr. Heinitz).

132 a). When studying the pitch it is necessary to take into consideration several dialects and neighbouring languages in order to know the roots and their original pitch, because several variations in pitch may be of different character and of great importance although it is quite impossible to define them exactly only on the evidence of a few dialects.

The necessity of distinguishing between the acute and grave pitch is obvious, but it was impossible to determine the exact relation between the two pitches and between these and the semi-low root-pitch till I received the records given in this and the following table.

From these tables I was able to define another pitch which puzzled me, a pitch similar in character to the acute pitch but in a level intonation. This pitch has often been confounded with the high-level pith in a level intonation and in a similar way the acute pitch with the high-level pitch in a falling intonation. Being similar in character to the acute pitch, the term semi-acute pitch is suggested for this and semi-grave for the corresponding pitch in Bembe.

Fortunately I received the required records before I had finished printing this work.

b) When comparing the pitch of the words in this and the following table with that of the words from Kingoyi and Mazinga I find that the suggested names and marks, acute (´) and grave (`) are suitable symbols for these pitches: acute with a rise (or tendency to be raised) in pitch and stress, passing through a great interval in the intonation, and grave with a fall (or a tendency to be lowered) in pitch and stress, passing through a small interval. Cf. 26. A syllable with an acute or grave pitch retains its high pitch and strong stress, since both the pitch and the stress have co-oparated to form this variation of pitch.

The reason why we hear the acute pitch better than the grave is because of the different intervals. As a general rule, the greater the interval is, the more marked is the character of the pitch. The same rule we find in the dialects. It is much easier to hear the pitch in Kingoyi and Yaka than in Mazinga and Bembe, because Kingoyi and Yaka have a scale to the extent of 8, 9, or 10 semitones, Bembe and Mazinga only to the extent of 6 or 7 semitones in primitive words. Cf. 2 *N.* I.

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[1]) Bembe is spoken in the French Congo about 100. km. north of Kingoyi.

c) The words in this and the following table have been arranged and numbered in the same way to facilitate comparison. Notice that all words in this table have the grave pitch except a few nouns, numerals and pronouns (wich are dealt with in the following notes), and that there are no primitive words with a semi-low root-pitch and rising intonation. The word *kulu* (29), however, has a slight rise which may be due to a mere chance.

With regard to the grave-pitch we find that the root-pitch is similar in all words: falling gradually in a long root-syllable and level in a half-long and a short root-syllable.

Mukieto (23), is missing in Yaka, but in Kyi. and Mz. *mukento* has the semi-acute pitch and a level intonation, though the ultima sometimes is pronounced a semitone lower. *Mukento* is derived from *muka´* (or *muka*$_+$) *i*$_+$*ntu*$^+$ (*itu*). From the same root we have *muka`si* (24) or *muka´sa* (9 *N.* 24), *muka´zi* wife, and *nka*$_+$*zi* or *nka'zi'*, a sister's elder brother.

Bene and *mulala* (25, 26) have also the semi-acute pitch in Kyi.

Kimpete (27) is an example of the semi-grave pitch in a level intonation.

Tayi (28) has an unusual fall, probably because of the scarcely audible ultima. Cf. 9 *N.* 28.

Koko, *kiabu*, *kila* (32—34) have a very slight fall in the root-syllable and can also be pronounced with the semi-grave pitch. *Kila* in Mz. has the semi-acute pitch but in Kyi. the acute pitch.

Notice the pitch of the prefix in 36—38.

Musi, basi (40, 41) are pronounced with the acute pitch (*mwi´si*) in Mz. and also with the semi acute pitch i Kyi.

Landa (44) with an imperative meaning has a slight rise in the ultima.

As to the words 46—48, see the following table.

Nguba, *pele* (49, 50) tends to the semi-grave pitch. In other dialects they have the semi-acute pitch, or *nguba* the acute pitch, and *pele* the semi-low pitch. *Bweke* is missing in other Kongo dialects.

Nkombo (23) has the high-semi-high pitch corresponding to the low-high pitch in Kyi., etc. Notice that the ultima is lower than the ultima in words with the grave pitch.

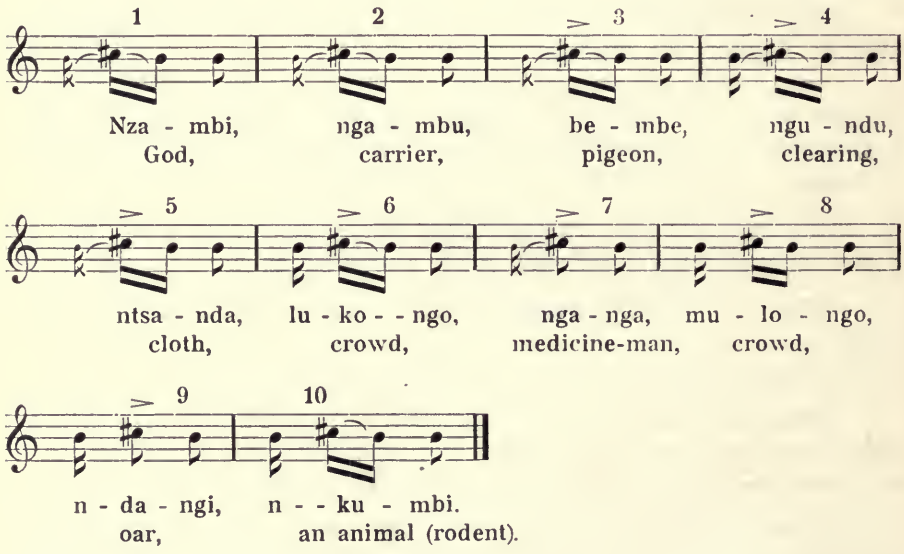
The numerals (54—63) *mosi, zole*, *tatu*, and *tanu* are pronounced with a somewhat lower grave pitch because of their adjectival character, but *ntsamu* as other nouns. *Bisambu* has a somewhat too high ultima, otherwise it has the same pitch in all dialects, likewise

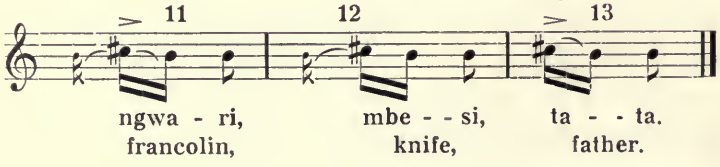
ña (*iya*), *nana*, *vwa*, *kumi* have a high pitch with some variations in the root-syllable. Cf. 3 *N.*

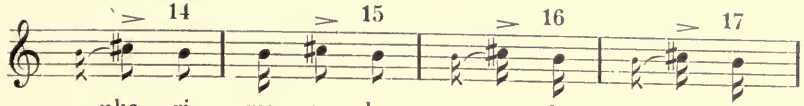
When counting in Yaka all numerals have been pronounced with the same pitch and intonation. Cf. 9 *N.* 54—63. In other dialects *mosi*, *zole*, *tatu*, and *tanu* have the semi-acute pitch, sometimes with a somewhat lower ultima (2 *N.* 98, 99).

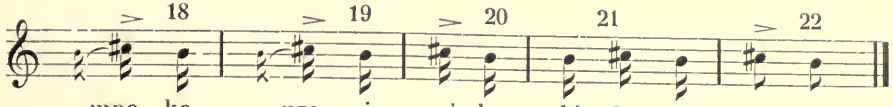
The personal pronouns (64—69) have the grave pitch of the same low character as in the above mentioned numerals except *nde* and *bo*, although *nde* on account of its special pronunciation (d often has a slight r-vibration in northern dialects) has a lower pitch than the corresponding *bo* (69). We find the character of the pitch in the genitive (72) where the same rule is in force as in Kyi for monosyllables in the genitive.

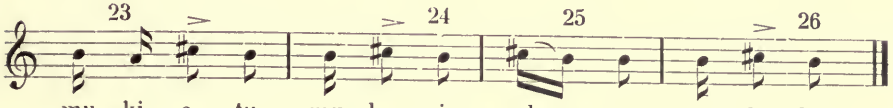
The possessives and the genitive of the personal pronouns (70—75) follow the same rules as those for the acute and the high pitch, e. g. 71, 72, 74, 75. *Kiami* and *kietu* are used instead of *kiamė*, *kiabė*. Cf. *kiayė* (71).

a)

1 2 3 4
Nza - mbi, nga - mbu, be - mbe, ngu - ndu,
God, carrier, pigeon, clearing,
5 6 7 8
ntsa - nda, lu - ko - - ngo, nga - nga, mu - lo - ngo,
cloth, crowd, medicine-man, crowd,
9 10
n - da - ngi, n - - ku - mbi.
oar, an animal (rodent).

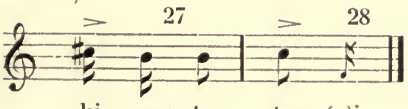
b)

c)



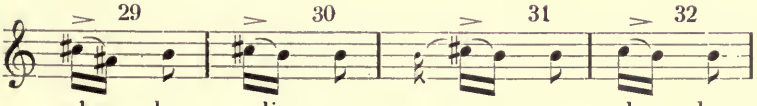
nka - ri, mu - sa - lu, nsa - la, mbi - sa,
merchandize, crayfish, grass not burnt, back,

mpo - ko, nza - zi, nzi - la, ki - ba - ri, la - ki.
horn, lightning, road, part, piece, feast.

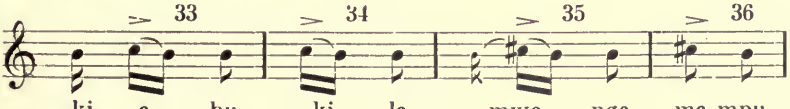
d)

mu - ki - e - tu, mu - ka - si, be - - ne, mu - la - la.
woman, wife, breast, lemon.

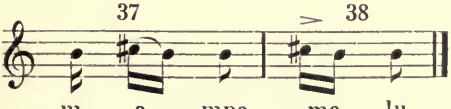
e)

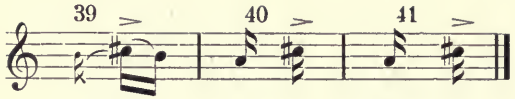


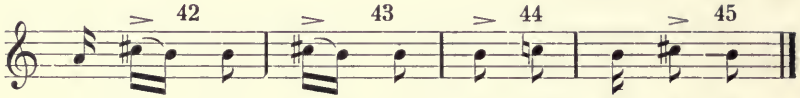
ki - mpe - te, ta - (y)i.
a fish, father.

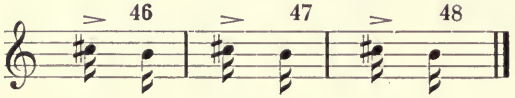
f)

ku - lu, di - su, mwa - na, ko - ko,
leg, foot, eye, child, arm, hand,

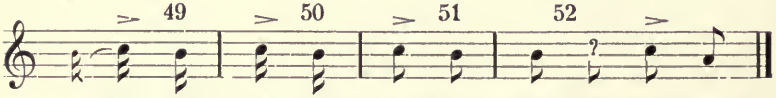


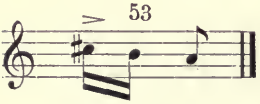
ki - a - - bu, ki - - la, mwe - - nge, ma-mpu,
ferry, boil, male flower of palm words,

m - - a - - mpa, ma - lu.
water, palm - wine.

g)

ntsu, mu - si, ba - si.
fish, person, persons.

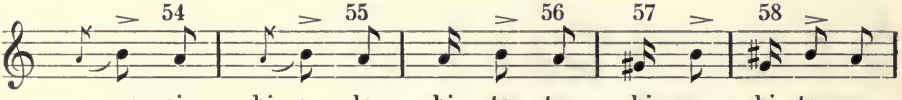
h)

ku - la - nda, la - nda, la - nda! ku - tu - ta.
to follow, to follow, follow! to crush.

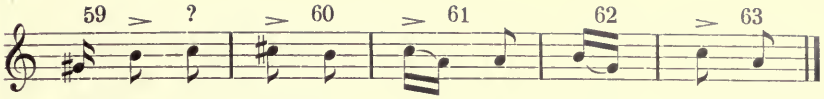
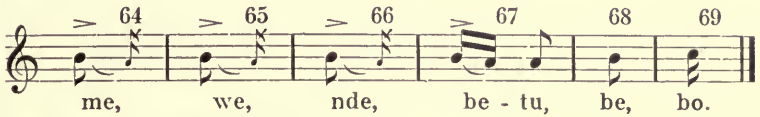
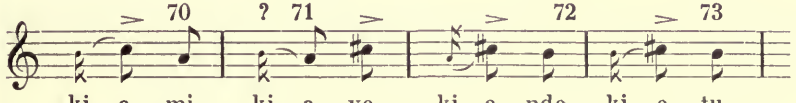
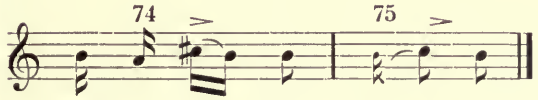
i)

nu - ni, nio - ko, ku - tu.
bird, snake, ear.

j)

ngu - ba, pe - le, bwe-ke, bwe - ke bwe - nu.
peanut, no, good, good-bye to you.
good-day.

k)

nko - mbo.
great chief.

l)



mo - si, bi - o - - le, bi - ta - tu, bi - na, bi - ta - nu,
one, two, three, four, five,

m)

n)

9 *N.* Examples from the Yaka Language.[1])

(Transcription by Dr. Heinitz).

133. When comparing Yaka with Bembe and other dialects of the Kongo language, we find that the pitch of the Yaka language has the same grades and variations as i Kyi. and Mz. With regard to the acute pitch we should notice that some words which have the acute pitch in one dialect often have the semi-acute pitch or retain the semi-low pitch in another dialect, if there is no psychological reason for distinguishing the word by the acute pitch within the dialect. Cf. the following notes.

a) The words 1—10 have all the grave pitch in Be. but in Yaka 1, 8, and 10 the semi-low pitch and a rising intonation; 2, 3, and 4 have a higher key, and 6 the semi-low pitch and a level intona-

[1]) Yaka is spoken west and north-west of the Bembe country.

tion. This word has the semi acute pitch in Kyi. and Mz. Words with the acute pitch are 5, 7, 9. In Kyi. and Mz. all these words have generally the semi-low pitch and a rising intonation, except *Nza´mbi* and *mulo´ngo.*

b) *Tata* (8 *N.* 13) is missing in the table, but 11 and 12 have the semi-low pitch in Yaka and all three the acute pitch in Kyi. and Mz.

c) Of these words (14—22), 14, 16, 17, 18, 21 have the acute pitch, and 15, 19, 20, 22 the semi-low pitch. In Kyi. and Mz. 14, 15, 16, 17, 20 have the acute pitch and 18, 19 the semi-low pitch.

d) As for *mukasa* see the notes in the preceeding table. *Bene* (25) has a high-low root-pitch in Yaka and a low ultima-pitch. Words with this level intonation generally have the semi-acute pitch in Kyi. and Mz. *Mulala* (26) has also the semi-acute pitch in Kyi.

e) *Ngwa tsoro* (27) has probably the acute pitch or a the high pitch. *Tayi* (28) has the low pitch and a rising intonation.

f) The words 29, 32, 36—38 have the semi-low pitch and a rising intonation in Yaka, and 30, 31, 35 the acute pitch. *Kiabu* (33) has a higher key. In Kyi. 29—32, 34 have the acute pitch, and 35—38 the semi low pitch.

g) *Ntswi* (39) has the high-semi low pitch in Yaka.

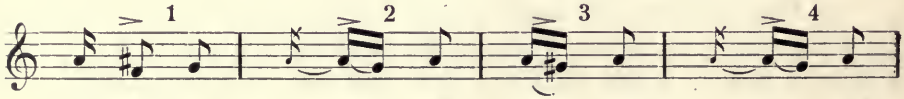
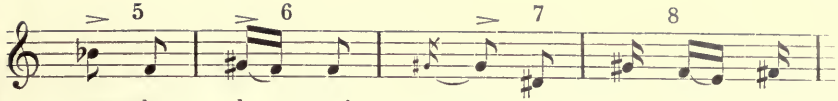
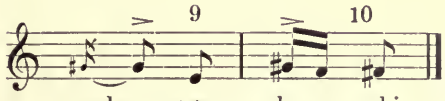
h) Verbs (42—42 c) with the prefix *ku* have all the acute pitch in Yaka, but in Kyi. and Mz. the root always retains its semi-low root-pitch. In Mdz. and Teke the ultima may fall to a very low pitch. Cf. 7 N. 61, 62.

i) *ńuni* (46) has the semi-acute pitch in a somewhat lower key in Yaka than in other dialects. In Mz. it has the acute pitch. *Ntadi* or *nioka* has the acute or the semi-acute pitch in other dialects. *Litswi* (43) has the high-semi-high pitch. As for *kutu* in Kyi. and Mz., cf. 2 *N.* 1, 2.

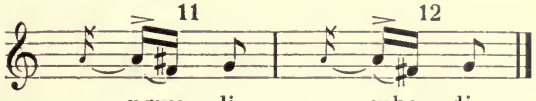
j) *Pinda* (49), *ngůba* has the acute pitch, and *ngodi* (50) the semi-acute pitch.

k) is missing in the table.

As for l, m, n, cf. the preceeding table.

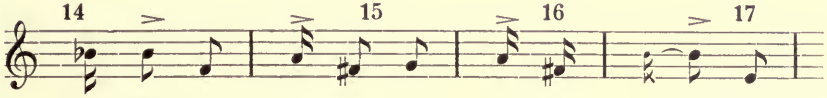
a)

Nzi - a - mbi, God,
nga - mba, carrier,
be - mbe, pigeon,
ngu - nda, clearing,

ntsa-nda, ko - - ngi, nga - nga, mu - lo - nga,
cloth, crowd, medicine - man, crowd,

nda - ngu, ku - - mbi.
oar, an animal.

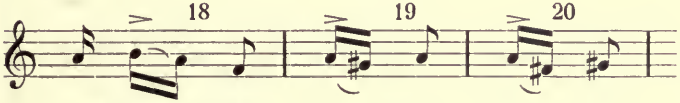
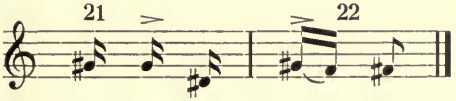
b)

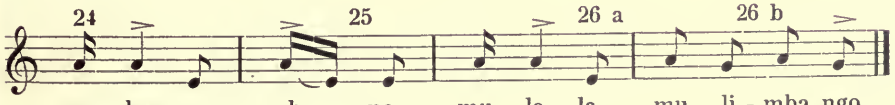


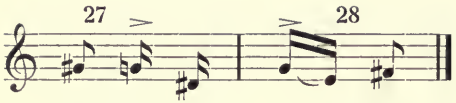
ngwa - li, mbe - di.
francolin, knife.

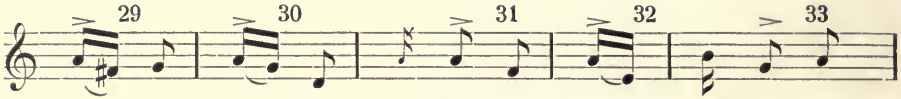
c)



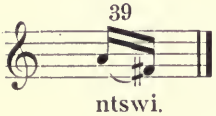
mu - so - lo, mu - sa - la, nsa - la, mbi - sa,
merchandize, crayfish, grass not burnt back,

ma - cie - mbu, nzie - di, ku - - la,
horn, lightning, road,

i - ba - ri, la - i.
part, piece, feast.

d)

mu - ka - sa, be - - ne, mu - la - la, mu - li - mba ngo.
wife, breast, lemon, lemon.

e)

ngwa tso - ro, ta - - yi.
a fish, father.

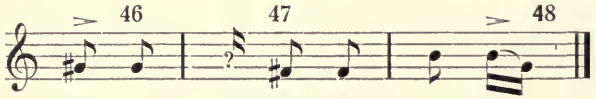
f)

ku - la, li - su, mwa - na, kwo, ki - a - bu,
leg, foot, eye, child, arm, ferry (place),

m - we - nge, ma - nda, ma - mba, ma - - lu.
male flowers of palm, words, water, palm-wine.

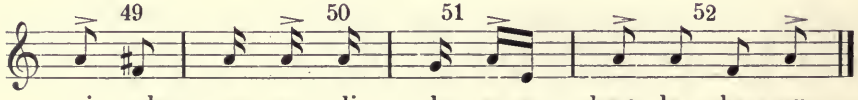
g)

ntswi.
fish.

h)

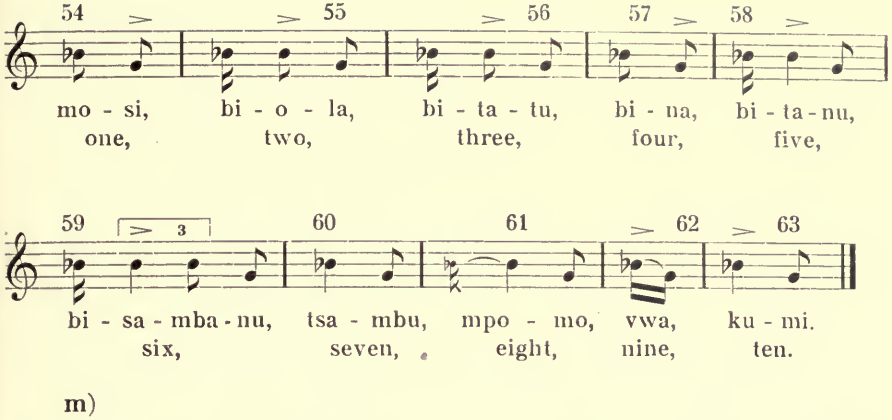
u - la - nda, u - di - a - ta, u - so - bo, u - to - ko.
to follow, to walk, to change, to boil.

i)

nu - ni, nta - - ri, li - tswi.
bird, snake, ear.

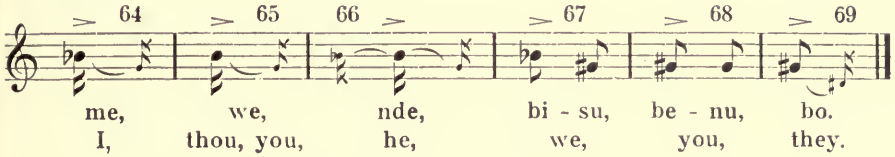
j)

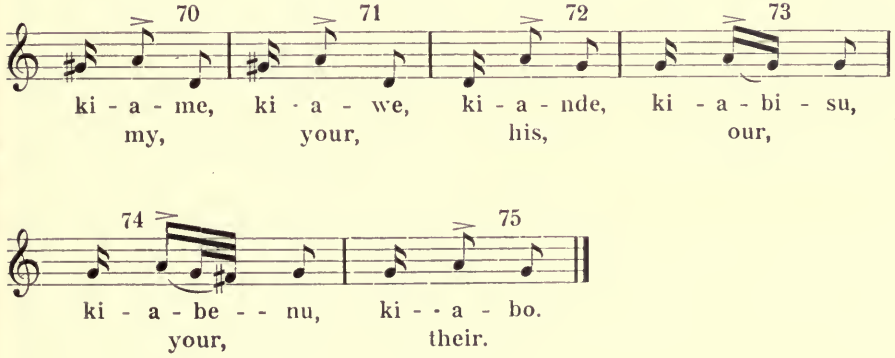


pi - nda, n - go - di, b - w - e, bwe la be - nu.
pea - nut, no, good, good-bye, good-day.

l)

54 55 56 57 58
mo - si, bi - o - la, bi - ta - tu, bi - na, bi - ta - nu,
one, two, three, four, five,
59 3 60 61 62 63
bi - sa - mba - nu, tsa - mbu, mpo - mo, vwa, ku - mi.
six, seven, eight, nine, ten.

m)


64 65 66 67 68 69
me, we, nde, bi - su, be - nu, bo.
I, thou, you, he, we, you, they.

n)

70 71 72 73
ki - a - me, ki - a - we, ki - a - nde, ki - a - bi - su,
my, your, his, our,
74 75
ki - a - be - - nu, ki - - a - bo.
your, their.

Några ord om mina undersökningar rörande den musikaliska accenten i kongospråket samt några jämförelser mellan dess karaktär i kikongo och i svenskan.

Under mitt studium av kongospråket fann jag, att bland de fonetiska problemen var den musikaliska accenten, tonfallet, den betydelsefullaste och mest avgörande faktorn för så väl ordets betydelse som uttal. Ja, jag har funnit att stamtonen (stamstavelsetonen) är så att säga ryggraden, stommen i språket, omkring vilken konsonanter och vokaler sluta sig såsom kött eller muskler. Man må i dialekter använda den ena eller den andra konsonanten eller vokalen, lång eller kort kvantitet, starkare eller svagare tryckaccent, stamtonen förblir alltid den samma. Förändras den i vissa fall vid ordbildningen för att framhäva en speciell betydelse, är den av särskild karaktär och lätt igenkännlig.

Jag ansåg därför såsom min uppgift att före kongoordbokens utgivande revidera orden med hänsyn till deras lexikala tonfall eller ordton, om ordboken skulle fylla nutida anspråk.

Jag ämnade lösa uppgiften genom att utgå från svenskan, eftersom där finnes en musikalisk accent »i den meningen att varje ord har sin en gång för alla givna fasta melodi» (Lundell). På grund härav har man ock fäst vissa förhoppningar vid mitt arbete, då en dylik accent saknas i t. ex. tyskan, engelskan, franskan m. fl.

Med ledning av den svenska ordmelodien och av andra i litteraturen gjorda meddelanden om tonfallet i bantuspråken trodde jag, att uppgiften jämförelsevis lätt skulle lösas och den lexikaliska ordtonen snart vara betecknad trots de i ordboken förekommande cirka 30,000 orden jämte deras många avledningar.

Hade kongospråket blott haft de två huvudslagen av musikalisk accent: enkel och sammansatt, såsom i svenskan, hade ju arbetet i alla händelser varit mycket krävande, ty dessa accentformer äro icke ens i modersmålet alltid så lätt uppfattade.

Nu visade det sig först, att den sammansatta accenten icke alls finnes. Andra helt främmande tonfall framträdde i stället. Här liksom i de flesta fall, då det gäller studiet av de s. k. primitiva, är det bäst att lämna »kulturlinjerna» och i stället följa de vägar, som framträda i dunklet.

Bland annat fann jag, att sammanhanget mellan tryckaccenten (den expiratoriska) och tonfallet i ordtonen (såsom i svenskan) och i accentmelodieringen, satsmelodien, i svenskan och andra europeiska språk är något helt annat, emedan tryckaccenten där spelar en obetydlig roll mot tonfallet. Endast i ett par fall fann jag, att den expiratoriska accenten liksom i svenskan varit verksam vid åstadkommandet av ett par accentformer. Dessa har jag därför benämnt akut och grav. Men dessa hava även tvänne variationer, som jag kallat »semi-acute» och »semi-grave».

Stamstavelsen och penultiman ha sin en gång för alla givna tryck- och rytmiska accent, vilken förstärkes eller försvagas alltefter stavelsens tonhöjd. Huvudtrycket faller oftast på den högsta tonstavelsen, men det kan ock falla på annan stavelse eller med samma tryck på flera stavelser, såsom synes av reglerna och nottabellerna.

De behandlade orden äro således de i mitt manuskript till ordboken förekommande orden. De äro genomgångna tvänne gånger, emedan jag vid undersökningens gång funnit nya accentformer, ja, ett par först efter studiet av den nordligaste dialekten. Jag har nämligen icke inskränkt mig endast till en dialekt utan behandlat flera samt delvis även ett par andra språk: Teke, Yaka och Kutaspråken. Av de två första finnas nottabeller.

Tonfallet, som motsvarar den i svenskan brukliga enkla accenten med dess båda variationer av enkelt fallande och enkelt stigande, var mycket lätt att finna.

Men i kongospråket utgör den två skilda accenter: enkelt fallande och enkelt stigande. Den förra har huvudtrycket på stamstavelsen, den senare i regel på ultima. Angående uppfattningen av de båda variationerna i svenska språket säger t. ex. Lundell, att tonen faller från första stavelsen mot slutet i större delen av Sverige eller stiger från första stavelsen mot slutet i västra Sverige. Enligt Danell har ett ord sådant som *talet* i centralt svenskt rikspråk enkelt fallande musikalisk accent. Vid s. k. frågeton förändras den till enkelt stigande. Kallstenius har på experimental-fonetisk väg kunnat fastställa, att accenten i norra accentområdet av Färnebo härad (Värmland) är fallande från g till a och i södra stigande från a till ciss. Wulff åter säger att accenten i allmänhet stiger från låg till hög. Endast i utrop eller i s. k. »ropton» kan den bli enkelt fallande samt i finn-svenskan där den är endast fallande.

Förutom de båda nämnda accentformerna fann jag en tredje med jämn tongång, d. v. s. med samma tonhöjd på alla stavelserna. Stamtonen där ligger på den musikaliska skalan mitt emellan de båda andra accenternas stamtoner. Dessa äro de tre huvudslagen av musikalisk accent för verb, vilkas ultima icke är bildad med nasalerad konsonant. Nasalprefix och andra nasaler spela nämligen en stor roll vid tonfallet (melodien). Verb med nasalerad konsonant ha tvänne andra variationer.

Tonfallet i substantiven är ännu mer komplicerat på grund av deras olika bildningssätt. Stamstavelsetonen kan vara jämn, stigande eller fallande med olika intervaller efter ordets betydelse och bildning. Övriga stavelser kunna likaledes hava samma, högre eller lägre ton, varav uppstå ordmelodier av flera slag.

De isolerade stamordens (lexikaliska) ordton, tonfall, kan hava 21 olika variationer, varav enstaviga hava 8 och tvåstaviga 13. Avledda och sammansatta, som ha en utbildad accentform (jfr uttrycket enkel och sammansatt utbildad accent i svenskan, ha i regel blott 6 olika variationer.

Under arbetet med den lexikaliska ordtonen utsträcktes min uppgift, emedan jag genom de många exemplen i ordboken fann, att ordtonen påverkades av andra toner, så att den förändrades på flera sätt, allt efter ordets böjning och ställning i satsen.

Tonen visade sig vara ej blott av psykologisk natur utan även av grammatisk. Att den är utmärkande psykologisk bland de primitiva är helt naturligt, ty den största delen av stammar och rötter äro onomatopoetiska med sin bestämda ton. Dessa toner äro icke godtyckliga, utan de ha följt bantufolken och blivit grundläggande för ordtonen inom de skilda språken. Det är på grund härav, som stamtonen är så lika i ord av samma betydelse ej blott i dialekterna utan även i olika bantuspråk, vilket jag redan kunnat övertyga mig om. Om ett ords betydelse kan man ofta diskutera i dialekterna men sällan om stamtonen, ty den är lika. Den påverkade tonen kan dock på grund av olika ordbildningar variera något. I bygdemål kan även satsmelodien bliva mer eller mindre sjungande, beroende förnämligast på storleken av intervallerna, men ordens egentliga tonfall i satsen regleras av bestämda tonlagar.

Så snart jag uppmärksammat den grammatiska tonen (den påverkade ordtonen i satsen), måste jag naturligtvis följa den grammatiska principen efter reglerna i formläran, syntaxen och ordbildningen.

En mängd ord med skilda tonfall blevo behandlade efter nämnda regler, ty det visade sig att tonförändringen blev helt olika allt efter stamordets lexikaliska ordton, vilken jag kallat grundton. De i satsen uppkomna tonerna är kallade påverkade (»influenced») toner. Som dessa toner hänföra sig till orden i satsen, ha de fått sina namn efter de skilda former och ställningar som ett ord kan inneha, såsom genitivton, prepositionston, tempuston (perfektton etc.), moduston o. s. v.

När jag fann den höga genitiv- och attributtonen, trodde jag att det ägda och ägaren eller huvudordet alltid hade sitt givna tonfall, men här följde icke orden regler om s. k. framhävda eller undanhållna ord (såsom t. ex. i svenskan) utan tonregler, som bestämmas av de skilda ordens grundtoner, d. v. s. av tonlagar, som utan tvivel även påverkas dels av rent fysisk-fysiologiska, dels grammatiska och traditionella lagar.

På samma sätt förhöll det sig vid de skilda tempustonerna och de förenade personliga pronominaltonerna. De många avledningssuffixen med skilda betydelser samverka även till att tonfallen bliva rätt olika allt efter verbets grundton.

Undersökningen måste alltså omfatta ord med alla de utmärkande grundtonerna, d. v. s. det gällde att klarlägga, vilket tonfall vart och ett av dessa ord kunde få i de olika förbindelser, som förekomma i satssammanhanget.

Jag fann då bestämda tonregler, som till sin art äro så regelrätta och genomgående som någonsin en grammatisk regel. Den rent musikaliska synpunkten samt åtskilliga andra synpunkter, som kunnat tagas i betraktande i sammanhang med dessa regler, har jag av flera skäl måst lämna.

Förutom tonfallet spelar ordens (i satsen) röst- eller tonläge i kongospråket en helt annan roll än i svenskan. Kongobon har nämligen icke samma tankar om s. k. känslobetoning och förståndsbetoning som vi, ty det är hos honom blott ordets betydelse, böjning, ställning i satsen m. m., som inverkar på tonläget. Så t. ex. uttryckes en hastig rörelse, ett högt ljud, långt avstånd, förfluten tid, litenhet, stark eller svidande känsla, fråga, tilltal, namn o. s. v. med högt tonläge. Med lågt tonläge uttryckes en sakta rörelse, lågt ljud, ljuv känsla, närhet, futurum, storhet, färg, befallning o. s. v.

Med hänsyn till stilarten är en jämn, vardaglig (ej vulgär), ledig, berättande och beskrivande stil allmännast och mest tilltalande även vid s. k. högtidliga tillfällen (rättegångar o. dyl.). Patos utmärkes genom större intervaller, och emfatiska uttryck av olika slag framhävas ej genom tryckaccenten utan delvis genom vissa former bildade med emfatiska partiklar och suffix med sina bestämda tonfall och delvis genom sitt tonläge (enligt förut givna grunder) med en hastigt fallande eller ibland stigande ultima. Texter med fonetisk beteckning har jag inga andra än dem, som finnas i reglerna och nottabellerna, emedan de måste vara noga transkriberade efter tonen, ord- och satsmelodien, för att kunna fylla sin uppgift med hänsyn till kongospråket. Ex. på satsmelodien se t. ex. 4:de nottabellen.

Vad som vidare i bantuspråken måste uppmärksammas är den egentliga satstonen, ej blott de från svenskan avvikande röst- eller tonlägena i vissa satsdelar och satser, utan satsens avslutande tonfall, vilket kan vara hastigt stigande eller fallande, då det i senare fallet ofta har ett lägre tonläge. Detta tonfall vid slutet giver åt satsen en viss schvung, styrka, en »tonklimax», som dominerar och avslutar satsen ungefär som man efter piskans vinande hör en smäll, ett slag som träffar. Detta är synnerligen utmärkande vid rättegångar etc., ty på tonfallet förstår man om ett bifallande, en acklamation eller annat yttrande väntas. Det är på grund av dessa fasta ord- och korta satsmelodier, som man genom vissling, pipan, trumman, gonggongen etc. kan säga eller »telegrafera», vad man önskar.

Mina undersökningar hava inneburit ett oerhört arbete, då jag icke haft den stora musikaliska förmågan att omedelbart kunna fastställa den absoluta tonhöjden i varje stavelse utan endast den relativa, d. v. s. intervallerna. Men detta är ju praktiskt det enda nödvändiga för språkets korrekta uttal.

Genom den jämförande metoden, då jag oavbrutet jämfört varje ord och uttryck med andra, tills jag funnit samstämmiga tonfall, som då betecknats med mitt beteckningssätt, vilket åter grundar sig på det av prof. Meinhof föreslagna, har jag kunnat fullfölja mina undersökningar på ett högst tillförlitligt sätt. De infödda ha vid jämförelsen ofta lätt kunnat bestämma tonfallet.

Den fonetiska beteckningsformeln 4321 i svenskan, som avser såväl den melodiska som expiratoriska accenten kunde ej upptagas, då dessa accenter i kikongo äro så vitt skilda till sin karaktär och samhörighet.

För att vara fullt övertygad om att min metod och uppfattning av tonfallen varit riktiga, har jag på fonografrullar upptagit en mängd utmärkande exempel från alla områden av undersökningen. Samma exempel ha även upptagits på skilda rullar av personer, som talat olika dialekter, för att jag skulle bliva förvissad om fastheten i tonfallen och tonreglerna.

Dessa fonografrullar ha sedan underställts Dr. Heinitz (vid det fonetiska laboratoriet i Hamburg) bearbetning genom nottranskriptionen. Ett urval är insatt i avhandlingen i nottabellerna, varav den första med 261 ex. är den grundläggande, d. v. s. den efter vilken avhandlingen blivit utarbetad. Andra nottabeller bestyrka och komplettera reglerna och påvisa smärre avvikelser inom skilda dialekter.

Slutresultatet är alltså den föreliggande avhandlingen, som ingalunda gör anspråk på att vara en pedagogiskt utarbetad lärobok eller en vetenskaplig av-

handling utan en första-hands-undersökning, vars vetenskapliga betydelse dock är i ögonen fallande, då den för närvarande är den enda utförliga behandlingen av den musikaliska accenten inom bantuspråken. Samstämmigheten i såväl den infödde Kiongas m. fl. uttal som mina undersökningar med dess beteckningssätt och Dr. Heinitz transkriptioner betyga avhandlingens tillförlitlighet och den musikaliska accentens bestämda karaktär och betydelse.

Avhandlingen med sina grafiska schema och nottabeller omfattar sex avdelningar vars sidantal är 153.

Den första avdelningen utgör en inledning, vari den dynamiska accenten, kvantiteten och sonoriteten först helt kort belysas. Därefter följa allmänna anmärkningar över den musikaliska accenten, intervaller, olika slags tonfall, tonlägen, tongradering, vilka förklaras genom grafiskt schema med tonbeteckning jämte noter för att utmärka tontecknens värde och bruk i avhandlingen.

För att bättre belysa karaktären och betydelsen av såväl tonhöjden, intervallerna, intensiteten (tryckaccenten) och kvantiteten i skilda fall alltefter ordets grundton följa här flera grafiska schema eller tabeller i överensstämmelse med notvärdet jämte hänvisning till den grundläggande nottabellen.

I de tre första (a, b, c) är en jämförelse mellan de förut nämnda tre huvudslagen av tonfall samt de olika tonförändringar, som dessa äro underkastade hos vissa verb, såsom i infinitiv, i perfektum, i preteritum (imperfektum) passiv och aktiv, i futurum samt subjunktiv.

I de båda följande (d, e) belysas likaledes verb med andra variationer i tonfall och tonförändring. F, g, h belysa trenne slag av grundtoner hos tvåstaviga substantiv samt deras förändring vid genitiv, preposition etc. Den sista visar tonfallen hos enstaviga substantiv i samma ställningar. Inledningen avslutes med den för avhandlingen grundläggande nottabellen. Av nottabellens 261 ex. belysa 121 de skilda grundtonerna i stamord, 41 ex. tonförändringar vid ordbildningen och 99 ex. tonförändringar inom satsen. Dessa ex. kompletteras av de andra nottabellerna i sista avdelningen.

Den andra avdelningen belyser till en början den musikaliska accentens karaktär, såsom stavelseton, ordton, grundton, påverkad ton, psykologisk och grammatisk ton, varefter tryck-accenten, kvantiteten och sonoriteten i sina förhållanden till tonhöjden avhandlas. Alla angivna ex. eller därmed identiska finnas till jämförelse i nottabellerna. Tryckaccenten och kvantiteten av skilda grader framträda vidare i ex. i nottabellerna; den förra genom intensitetstecknet och den senare genom notvärdet.

Den tredje avdelningen avhandlar de isolerade ordens olika grundton med en mängd ex., varibland s. k. orddubbletter ofta förekomma. Vi finna här den höga stamtonen med sex variationer och olika slags tonfall, den medelhöga med fyra variationer och tre slags tonfall, den medellåga av två slag samt låg och fem andra variationer.

Den fjärde avdelningen avhandlar tonfallet eller tonförändringarna i satsen; först i allmänhet och i olika röst- eller tonlägen, sedan detaljerat genom tonregler för olika slags former och ställningar i satsen, såsom vid genitiv, prepositioner, tempos i olika personer, modus, negation, fråga o. s. v.

Den femte avdelningen avhandlar tonförändringarna vid ordbildningen. Där märkes bland annat nasalprefixens och andra prefix karaktär och inflytande samt ett slags ordbildning, som sker genom omkastad tongång för att framhålla en från stamordet avvikande betydelse.

Den sjätte avdelningen innehåller åtta nottabeller. Den första avhandlar tonfallet inom Mazinga-dialekten, som upptagits till litteraturspråk för det belgiska området. Andra tabeller belysa tonfallet i Ndingi-dialekten och den säregna Bembe-dialekten. Andra innehålla härmning av fåglar m. m., ett par smärre sånger, en träta mellan ett par kvinnor samt till sist två nottabeller med karaktäristiska ex. av tonfallet inom Teke- och Yaka-språken.

K. E. LAMAN.

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